

**Gallimaufry of Nuts: A Cognitive-Semantic Account of Idiomatic
Expressions for MADNESS**

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Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tavoitteena on tutkia millaisille mielikuville englanninkieliset, hulluutta tarkoittavat sanat ja sanonnat perustuvat, ja onko mielikuvissa kaavamaisuuksia. Lähtökohtana tutkimukselle on kognitiivisen kielitieteen ajatus siitä, että metaforat eivät ole pelkästään kielellisiä, vaan ne heijastavat ihmisen ajattelua. Käsitejärjestelmämme on luonteeltaan metaforinen, ja tämä mahdollistaa pääsyn ihmisen mielikuviin kielikuvien välityksellä.

Teoriaosuudessa käsitellään aluksi sitä, mitä kuvakieli ja kielikuvat oikeastaan ovat. Keskitytään varsinkin idiomiin ja metaforaan, sekä käsitteelliseen metaforaan (*conceptual metaphor*) ja metonymiaan. Seuraavaksi tarkastellaan aikaisempien kielen ja mielen yhteyttä koskevien tutkimusten avulla onko perusteita väittää, että kielelliset ilmaisut olisivat luonteeltaan enemmän kuin kielellisiä. Lopuksi teoriaosuudessa määritellään, mihin hulluuden käsitteellä tässä tutkimuksessa viitataan.

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu sanakirjoista kerätyistä, kuvaannollisista sanoista ja sanonnoista, jotka voidaan määritellä sanalla 'hullu', ja siihen läheisesti liittyvillä sanoilla (engl. *insane*, *crazy*, *eccentric*). Sanakirjojen avulla tutkittiin, mistä sanonnat ovat peräisin, ja mihin ne kirjaimellisesti viittaavat. Analyysi paljasti samankaltaisuuksia, käsitteellisiä metaforia ja metonymioita, joiden perusteella sanat ja sanonnat jaettiin ryhmiin syvällisempää analyysia varten.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että kielelliset ilmaisut eivät ole satunnaisia, vaan samaan asiaan viittaavat kielikuvat perustuvat yleensä muutamaan käsitteelliseen metaforaan tai metonymiaan. Tutkimus paljasti, että hulluus paikannetaan yleensä ihmisen päähän ja aivoihin. Hulluuden aiheuttaa kuvainnollinen sekasorto, rikkinäisyys, tai kiemuraisuus ihmisen päässä tai muissa kehon osissa, ja näistä aiheutuu kontrollin menetystä, sekä eläimellistä käytöstä. Hulluus antaa vaikutelman poissaolevuudesta, epätasapainosta, ja epänormaaliudesta. Lisäksi selvisi, että hulluuteen viittaavat kielikuvat sisältävät usein erilaisia oletuksia. Näistä esimerkkeinä 'mieli on hauras esine', 'ihmisen pää on tila', 'keho on rakennus', ja 'normaali on suora'.

Asiasanat: hulluus, idiomit, kognitiivinen semantiikka, kuvakieli, käsitteellinen metafora

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1. Introduction

*“Madness is not a state of mind,
madness is a place.
Let's go there shall we?”*

This quote from the video game *Alice: Madness returns* shall serve as an invitation to a tour of a place called madness. Madness is a fascinating concept as it seems to refer to a whole medley of intriguing characteristics, but what exactly are they? What is implied when someone calls another person mad? Should they be insulted? Or perhaps slightly amused? The word *mad* can be used to refer to many different kinds of people, things, ideas, emotions, states of mind, and conditions. When someone loses their temper, they *go mad*, then again, someone with slightly eccentric tendencies or quirky ideas can also be called *mad*, furthermore, if you are very excited and enthusiastic about something or other, you are *mad about* it. These examples highlight the fact that *mad* or *madness* carry more than one distinct meaning, but even within any one of the definitions of the word *mad*, there can be a host of different connotations.

In general it seems that, in all the senses discussed, being mad refers to being, or behaving in a manner, that is 'not quite normal'. In *Balderdash & Piffle*, a BBC Two TV program made in collaboration with the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), comedian Jo Brand interviews a group of mental patients, who provide Brand with a definition of someone called *a normal*:

A person who conforms and blends in with society; One who expresses no elements of individuality; flat and boring; extremely straight and perpendicular person; cannot cope easily with chaos; could also be described as the living dead; does not express over the top displays of emotions in case they might be seen to be mad. Pl. the normals (*Balderdash & Piffle*, 2007).

While the above definition may appear tongue-in-cheek, it must be based on some kind of reality. Furthermore, if it does indeed characterize someone who is normal, it follows that someone who is mad ought to possess characteristics that are opposite to these. In order to determine what madness actually entails, or how it is perceived, and whether or not the above definition of *a normal* holds

any truth to it, the concept of madness needs to be studied in more detail.

It may seem a very challenging task to reveal the nature of madness, and quite frankly, in the medical sense of the word, that might well be the case. There is, however, a field of study called cognitive linguistics that focuses on the study of features of language as reflections of human cognition, hence providing a feasible means to study the concept of madness via language. In cognitive linguistics it is suggested that language may serve as a key to our conceptual system and hence also to our thought patterns. In the field of cognitive linguistics, linguistic expressions, metaphors in particular, have received a fair amount of attention. Lakoff and Johnson claim that:

Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action: our ordinary conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3).

What this seems to suggest is that by studying linguistic expressions it ought to be possible to reach the conceptual system and uncover what is behind language. This would help us understand, perhaps not the profound truth behind all things, but at least what it is that we associate with specific concepts, how we as human beings see the objects around us.

If language can indeed function as a key to our conceptual system, it follows that the key is slightly different depending on the given language. The question of linguistic relativity¹, that is, whether different observers perceive the world differently depending on their language, or indeed whether a different language would reveal a different kind of conceptual system, has been debated extensively. In this thesis, however, the focus is on the English language, therefore, the topic of linguistic relativity will not be discussed further.

The aim of this pro gradu -thesis is to study idiomatic expressions for one aspect of madness, namely insanity, accompanied by the closely related concepts of craziness and eccentricity, and uncover some of the insinuations behind madness. The expressions under analysis

¹ See e.g. Whorf (1956) for the foundations of linguistic relativity, or Lee (1996) for a critical account. As more recent additions to the debate, Deutscher (2010), Casasanto (2008) as well as Fuhrman et al. (2011), and Boroditsky & Gaby (2010).

include for example *have bats in one's belfry*, *cracked*, *nuts*, *a few sandwiches short of a picnic*, and *mad as a hatter*. Considering the fact that opposites go hand in hand, in addition to the concept of normality discussed above, sanity will also be briefly addressed. The specific research questions that this thesis will answer are:

1. What lies behind idiomatic expressions for insanity, craziness and eccentricity?
2. Are there any recurring themes among the expressions studied?
3. What kind of conceptual metaphors or metonymies (if any) are these expressions based on? If found, where are they grounded?
4. Based on the findings, how is madness perceived? Conversely, what does this say about sanity?

Owing to the fact that the concept of madness has, to my knowledge, not been studied before in this manner, the results of this thesis provide new information regarding conceptual metaphors, metonymies, as well as mental representations linked with madness. This type of research on the ideas behind linguistic expressions, especially idioms, could be of use for example in second language teaching, where idioms are often rather problematic to teach. If, instead of memorizing specific idioms and their definitions, students could associate idioms with more general concepts instead, the learning process could be much simpler.

This thesis has been divided into six sections. Following section 1, the introduction, comes section 2, which introduces the theoretical framework, with focus on figurative language and how it reflects the conceptual system. Section 3 presents the primary data as well as the methods employed in the analysis. In section 4 the data will be analyzed, and in section 5 the findings on how madness is perceived will be discussed, along with a comparison to the concepts of normality and sanity. Finally, section 6 concludes the present thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

This piece of research contributes to the field of cognitive linguistics, and therefore this section begins with a brief introduction to said field. Next, some of the central terminology will be defined. Owing to the fact that my research involves analyzing figurative language, the term *figurative language*, along with figures of speech such as *idiom*, *metaphor* and *metonymy* will be defined. The relationship between figurative language and thought, the main topic of the present thesis, will be discussed next in part 2.3 along with a brief review of previous studies on similar topics.

2.1 Cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics focuses on the study of the mental aspects of language. It is analysis of the conceptual basis of linguistic categories, or as Grady defines it, “the study of ways in which features of language reflect other aspects of human cognition” (2007, 188). With its roots firmly planted in the emergence of cognitive science in the 1960s and 70s, cognitive linguistics originated in the late seventies and early eighties in the work of George Lakoff, Ronald W. Langacker and Leonard Talmy (Evans & Green 2006, 3). Instead of being a theory, cognitive linguistics is described as a movement. There is no one well-defined theory, but rather a range of overlapping theories, and a set of common guiding principles that provide the framework for cognitive linguistics (ibid.). The two main branches are cognitive semantics, which is “the study of the relationship between experience, embodied cognition and language”, and cognitive approaches to grammar, “the study of the symbolic linguistic units that comprise language” (Evans & Green 2006, 50). The present thesis contributes to cognitive semantics.

Ungerer and Schmid claim that there are three main approaches representing cognitive linguistics. First they list *the experiential view of language*, which is the more practical and empirical path, and incidentally also the approach employed in the present thesis. They explain that in the experiential view it is the language users themselves that are being consulted on matters of

language, thereby producing a less logical and objective view of language. Ungerer and Schmid suggest that, when asked to describe and object, people will, in addition to the things that are logically part of the object in question, include associations and impressions in their descriptions. As an example, Ungerer and Schmid explain that a car does not only consist of seats, a steering wheel, and an engine, but also of the concepts of speed, comfort, mobility and independence, all of which are parts of the experience of owning or driving a car. (Ungerer & Schmid 1996, xi.)

The second and third views to language, as listed by Ungerer and Schmid, are *the prominence view* and *the attentional view*, both of which provide explanations on how information is arranged and selected in a clause. According to the prominence view, the subject of a clause is determined by the prominence of each constituent in a given situation. The attentional view on the other hand states that the way we choose to construct our clauses reflects which aspects of a situation have been paid most attention to. (Ungerer & Schmid 1996, xii – xiii.)

Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007b, 5) list the three fundamental characteristics of cognitive linguistics as follows. Firstly, *semantics* is primary in linguistic analysis, or in other words, meaning is a basic function of language. Second, linguistic meaning is *encyclopedic* in nature which follows from the fact that language is the system that we use to categorize the world around us. And finally, linguistic meaning is *perspectival* in nature, which basically means that language does not mirror the world, but rather it imposes a structure on the world; language is not an objective reflection of the world. (ibid.)

Some of the concepts that are of interest in the field of cognitive linguistics are image schemas (see e.g. Johnson 1987, or Hampe & Grady 2005), conceptual structuring (see e.g. Talmy 2000), categorization (see e.g. Lakoff 1987), metaphor and metonymy, which will also be discussed in this thesis (see e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses & Radden 1998, Kövecses 2002), mental spaces and conceptual blending (see e.g. Fauconnier & Turner 2002; 2008), lexical concepts and cognitive models (see e.g. Evans 2003; 2010), as well as cognitive grammar (see e.g. Langacker

1987). For general introductions to the field of cognitive linguistics, see for example Evans and Green (2006), Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007a), Ungerer and Schmid (1996), or Cruse and Croft (2004).

2.2 Figurative language and figures of speech

In order for language to work in the desired way, each word needs to carry a conventional meaning. However, sometimes language is used in a way where the words used no longer carry their usual literal meanings, but instead they can refer to something completely different. For instance, one might call their newly purchased bicycle a *lemon* when it fails to meet their expectations, but this does not mean that the person in question literally rides a citrus fruit to work every morning. Cruse & Croft (2004, 193) define figurative language as

language use where, from the speaker's point of view, conventional constraints are deliberately infringed in the service of communication, and from the hearer's point of view, a satisfactory (i.e. relevant) interpretation can only be achieved if conventional constraints on interpretation are overridden by contextual constraints.

Simply put, the speaker breaks rules in order to communicate something and the hearer recognizes this in their interpretation; the speaker states their bicycle is a lemon, and the hearer instantly recognizes that a bicycle is not a fruit, therefore, this particular expression is figurative. Searle (1979, 114) points out that “where the utterance is defective if taken literally, look for an utterance meaning that differs from sentence meaning”. By *defective*, Searle refers to an utterance that is false, or does not make sense against the context (Searle 1979)².

Figurative language has often been seen as an embellishment or a special effect with little other value (see e.g. Gibbs 1994, 1ff). It is, however, a fact that figurative language is ubiquitous, it serves many functions, and furthermore, the figurative and the literal are not fully equivalent. People use figurative language for many distinct purposes, for example to create intimacy via shared knowledge and context, to indicate membership of a certain group (Gibbs 1994, 135 – 136),

² See also Grice (1975).

to paint mental images, or to grab someone's attention (Cruse & Croft 2004, 193). In addition to these, figurative language in the form of euphemisms³ can be used to discuss things that would be inappropriate or uncomfortable to talk about in literal terms. Additionally, figurative language can be entirely neutral in the sense that a language user barely notices that they are even using it, as for example when one describes their mood as *low* or *blue*, or when they talk about time and how it *goes by* so fast.

The figurative language -umbrella contains a variety of different figures of speech, including *metaphors*, *similes*, *idioms*, *alliterations*, *puns* and many others⁴. It is not always a simple task to categorize figurative expressions, the boundaries between different types of expressions can seem hazy, and they often overlap. For the purposes of this thesis, however, it is not necessary to provide exact definitions of different figures of speech, but since the data consists of figurative expressions and the concepts of *metaphor* and *metonymy* are of central importance as well, the terms *idiom*, *metaphor* and *metonymy* will be discussed more thoroughly.

2.2.1 Idiom

The data analyzed in this thesis consists of a variety of figurative expressions. However, owing to the fact that the focus is on the meanings of the expressions, not on the type, I do not find it necessary to determine which kind of figure of speech each expression represents. Most of the expressions studied are, however, set phrases whose exact meaning cannot be deduced from the literal meanings of the individual words the expressions consist of. Such expressions are often referred to as *idioms*.

OED defines *idiom* as “a form of expression, grammatical construction, phrase, etc., used in a distinctive way in a particular language, dialect, or language variety; *spec.* a group of words established by usage as having a meaning not deducible from the meanings of the individual words”

³ The use of mild or evasive expressions in place of taboo, negative, or offensive ones (see e.g. McArthur 1992).

⁴ See e.g. McArthur (1992) for definitions.

(s.v. *idiom*, n.3). Examples of expressions that fit under this definition include *flog a dead horse* (to engage in fruitless effort), *kick the bucket* (to die), or *give the cold shoulder* (to ignore). What this definition suggests is that an idiom is a culturally-loaded, frozen, multi-word form of speech, whose meaning is not the sum of its parts. These four characteristics will now be discussed in more detail.

Culturally loaded

Each speech community has got an arsenal of expressions that, over time, have become conventionalized, accepted by that particular community. These type of expressions have been stored in memory as phrases, single meaningful units, instead of as single words with separate meanings. It is often the case that idioms are culturally-loaded, and hence not fully translatable into other languages. However, it is not at all uncommon to find expressions in different languages where, instead of the exact words, the underlying idea; metaphor, piece of conventional knowledge or metonymy is shared. As an example, translating *flog a dead horse* to another language will result in an expression of some kind, but unless the idea behind it is familiar, the expression might not be understood, or it may not sound natural. Then again, for example the idea that anger is 'heat' or 'hot fluid' is used in many unrelated languages. The expressions themselves may and do vary, but the basic idea remains the same (see e.g. Kövecses 2002, 165 – 170; Kövecses 2003).

Frozen

The definition of an idiom states that idioms are “established by usage” or, in other words, they have become fixed in continual use. They function like any other lexical units, and speakers do not need to break the idioms apart in order to figure out what they mean – or to understand that they are not supposed to be taken literally. Idioms can thus be called *frozen* expressions, in that they have a basic form whose variability is restricted (Langlotz 2006, 3). Some idioms are frozen solid in the sense that they do not allow any interruptions by other words, and they cannot be inflected or modified in any way. This is, however, not always the case, as other idioms are flexible to a certain

extent and do permit slight modification without losing their meaning. Nunberg et al. state that “parts of idioms can be modified by means of adjectives or relative clauses” (1994, 500). As examples he gives “leave no legal stone unturned”, where the idiom *leave no stone unturned* has been interrupted by the adjective 'legal', and “your remark touched a nerve that I didn't know even existed”, where the idiom *touch a nerve* has been modified by adding a relative clause, moreover, some idioms can be quantified as in “touch a couple of nerves” (ibid.). These examples clearly show that when it comes to certain idioms, there is room for modification. Then again, even though modifications are permitted, the basic form of the idiom must remain relatively stable in order for them to qualify as fixed expressions⁵. I will be coming back to this kind of variability subsequently on the topic of idiom schemes.

Multi-word units

The third claim is that idioms are groups of words or *multi-word units*. This feature is also known as *compositeness* (Langlotz 2006, 3). Idiom dictionaries do, however, often list single-word entries and even though, strictly speaking, there are no single word idioms, these expressions have a meaning that differs from the literal. The data analyzed in the present thesis includes a number of these single-word units that can be interpreted both literally and figuratively.

Non-compositionality

Finally, the fourth and, for the purposes of this thesis, perhaps the most important part of the definition of idiom: the full meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced from the meanings of the words it consists of, also referred to as *non-compositionality* (Langlotz 2006, 3). It appears that true idioms cannot be de-constructed, and that idioms are units with a unitary meaning and the full meaning can only be conveyed by using the entire idiom. According to the compositional view⁶, however, idioms can in fact be broken into smaller units, Gibbs (1994, 278), for example, mentions

5 For more on the flexibility and productivity of idioms, see Gibbs et al. (1989), Nunberg et al. (1994), Langlotz (2006, 175 – 224), and Glucksberg (2001, 68 – 89).

6 See e.g. Gibbs et al. (1989), and Nunberg et al. (1994).

that “many idiomatic phrases appear to be decomposable and analyzable with the meanings of their parts contributing independently to their overall meanings”. Nunberg et al. also discuss the compositional view, and states that “there are compelling reasons to believe that the majority of phrasal idioms are in fact semantically compositional” (1994, 491). He defines *idiomatically combining expressions* as expressions “whose parts carry identifiable parts of their idiomatic meanings” (1994, 496), this means that each part of the expression can be seen to refer metaphorically to each part of the interpretation. As an example of this Nunberg et al. give the idiom *pull strings*, where “strings can be used metaphorically to refer to personal connections when it is the object of pull, and pull can be used metaphorically to refer to exploitation or exertion when its object is strings” (ibid.). The expressions where the interpretation cannot be divided over the parts of the idiom, as with the expression *kick the bucket*, Nunberg et al. call *idiomatic phrases* (1994, 497). Even with the compositional view, however, it is obvious that the parts of the expression still cannot be taken literally.

Despite the fact that idioms are, to some extent at least, fixed phrases, sometimes parts of an idiom can be replaced with synonymous words without the idiom losing its meaning. As an example, Gibbs (2007, 714) lists *shake in one's boots*, *quake in one's boots*, *quake in one's Doc Martens* and *shake in one's shoes*, all of which are variations of the same pattern, or *idiom scheme*. As long as the words used have roughly the same meaning, the resulting idiom will work perfectly fine. Several of the expressions analyzed in this thesis are members of this type of families of idioms. In addition to replacing individual words with synonyms, it appears that even within idiom schemes modifications are permitted. Consider, for example, these expressions for madness: *bats in one's belfry*, *a kangaroo loose in the top paddock* and *toys in the attic*. All three expressions follow the scheme *X in the (head)*, but clearly the *X* can be replaced by words that are not synonymous (bats are not kangaroos or toys), words that are not in any way related (kangaroos and bats are animals, toys are not), moreover, the *X* does not even have to be a single word, *bats* and *a kangaroo*

loose work equally well. These of course could be considered separate idiom schemes, *animal in the head* and *random objects in the head*, for example, the meaning of the scheme, however, would not be affected.

It is of central importance to my research that idiomatic expressions can be decomposed and that their meaning can be analyzed based on the parts of the expression, thereby arriving at the reason – or plausible reason – for why a particular expression is being used. After all, there must be a reason for why particular idiomatic expressions exist, there must be a reason why someone thought it would be a good idea to say that they *let the cat out of the bag* instead of saying they revealed a secret. However, it must be noted that, as with words, meanings of phrases change, the origins of expressions become obscure and may not be of any use to the average speaker.

2.2.2 What lies behind the idiom?

An idiom is a form of expression or phrase whose meaning is more than the sum of its parts.

Consequently, there must be some reason for why a specific figurative expression or idiom is used instead of the literal alternative. Kövecses states that

many of, perhaps most, idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language (i.e., a matter of the lexicon). An idiom is not just an expression that has meaning that is somehow special in relation to the meanings of its constituting parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system. In other words, idioms (or, at least, the majority of them) are conceptual, not linguistic in nature (Kövecses 2002, 201).

Furthermore, according to Gibbs “idioms reflect fundamental patterns of human thought” (2007, 697). What these quotes suggest is that idioms may be more than mere groups of words, there may in fact be a more fundamental idea behind the expression functioning as the basis or *motivation*, thereby bridging the gap between the figurative and the literal.

According to Kövecses (2002, 207) one of the mechanisms that can motivate idioms is *conventional knowledge*, which, very simply put, refers to knowledge shared by people in a given

culture⁷. As an example Kövecses provides the idiom *have one's hands full* (to be busy) that can be explained with the conventional piece of knowledge that if we are already holding something, other things cannot be picked up, analogically; if we are busy with one thing, other activities will have to wait (2002, 207 – 208). Another mechanism that can motivate idioms is *metonymy* which generally refers to expressions where a part of something stands for the whole entity. As an example Kövecses gives the idiom *hold one's hand* (wait and see) that is based on the more general metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY (2002, 208).

More often than not, however, the connection can be found in a correlation between the figurative and the literal, that is, an underlying comparison of the two things, saying that one is the other. A common example of such a comparison can be found in the simile *he fought like a lion*, where a person, *he*, is being compared to a lion, thereby attributing to *him*, the person, some of the characteristics of a lion. A general name for this kind of a comparison is *metaphor*, which is originally a Greek word meaning 'to transfer' or 'to carry over'. As defined by OED, a *metaphor* is “a figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogous to, that to which it is literally applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression” (s.v. *metaphor*, n.1). In other words, entity A has something in common with entity B, thus making it possible to discuss entity A with words that would normally be associated with entity B.

2.2.3 Aspects of metaphor

A functioning, understandable metaphor consists of three main parts: *tenor*, *vehicle* and *ground* (McArthur 1992, s.v. *metaphor*). With *Juliet is the sun* serving as an example of a metaphor, *Juliet* is the tenor, or the subject that is to be compared, and *the sun* is the vehicle, or the object being compared to. In order for a metaphor to be understandable, there needs to be a connecting factor between the tenor and the vehicle: a common *ground*. In *Juliet is the sun*, the ground could be

⁷ See e.g. Edwards (1997, 114ff) for a more detailed account of conventional or shared knowledge.

brightness and beauty, for example. Some correlations are clearer than others, comparing life to a journey might be easier to understand than the comparison between, say, life and a cheese grater or life and a tomato. However, with a little bit of imagination even these rather odd sounding comparisons could be understood; life is like a cheese grater; year after year it rips you into shreds and then you die, or life is like a tomato; if you want it to feed you, you need to bite into it.

Sometimes metaphors are created on the spot during a conversation, perhaps never to be used again, but common metaphors exist as well. The process of how common metaphors come about, as explained by Cruse and Croft (2004, 204), starts with a new metaphor being repeated many times, followed by conventionalization. First, the meaning of the metaphor becomes more fixed, creating a set ground between the tenor and the vehicle, which then begins to infiltrate the mental lexicon (*ibid.*). This is followed by the process of semantic drift, bringing the expression further away from its metaphorical origins, over time the metaphorical nature of the expression disappears, making it hard to trace its origin (Cruse & Croft 2004, 205).

2.2.4 Functions of metaphor

As discussed in part 2.1, figurative language is used for many purposes, for example for attention grabbing, as an indication of membership in a group, or as a means to discuss difficult or taboo topics. The functions of metaphor are likewise various. Cacciari (1998, 121) mentions that metaphors are used as a means to describe abstract entities in perceptual terms, hence making the inexpressible more tangible. When it comes to the literally inexpressible, emotional experience is often at the top of the list, hence they are often described by using metaphors (Cacciari 1998, 133). This is also the case with madness, which is an abstract concept and can be hard to describe in literal terms.

Metaphors are also present when describing something by crossing the senses, so to say; one could for example taste something sharp, smell something sour, or hear deep sounds (Cacciari 1998,

128)⁸. As suggested by Fetterman et al. (2012, 1446) “we think of nice people as sweet not because they taste sweet, but rather because it is similarly pleasant to interact with nice people and to eat sweet foods”⁹. In connection to crossing the senses, colour words are quite commonly used to refer to for example temperatures or emotions that physically do not possess colours of any kind; red for heat and anger, blue for cold and calmness, as well as colourful for interesting and perhaps also for mad.

Judging by the above examples, it is safe to say that metaphors serve a purpose that is more than merely ornamental. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson claim that

metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action: our ordinary conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3).

This suggests that metaphors may in fact act as a gateway to our conceptual system, this will be discussed more thoroughly in part 2.2.1.

2.2.5 Conceptual metaphor

It has been established that metaphors can be created spontaneously, but what the creator of such a metaphor might not realize is that their new metaphor may be based on another, existing metaphor. With this in mind, the idea of a *conceptual metaphor* needs to be introduced. A conceptual metaphor is the general, abstract idea behind a group of metaphorical expression. In cognitive linguistics a metaphor is not only understood as an alternate expression that replaces the literal, rather, it is a more fundamental part of the relationship between language and concepts in the mind, or as Lakoff and Johnson put it; “metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical. ... Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual

⁸ See also Cacciari (2008).

⁹ Interestingly, in a study by Meier et al. It was discovered that “nice individuals like sweet foods to a greater extent, but did not like spicy, sour, bitter or salty foods to a greater extent” (quoted in Fetterman et al. 2012, 1454).

system” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 6).

To illustrate the idea of a conceptual metaphor further, I refer to examples from Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). “He *attacked every weak point* in my argument”, “I’ve never *won* an argument with him” and “he *shot down* all my arguments” are all examples of sentences concerning arguments that feature metaphorical linguistic expressions (in italics). What all these expressions seem to have in common is the theme of fighting or war; *attacking* an argument, *winning* an argument and *shooting down* arguments. This common denominator of AN ARGUMENT IS WAR¹⁰ is the conceptual metaphor that has the potential to inspire a plethora of expressions, phrases, idioms et cetera. Upon inspection it appears that everyday metaphorical expressions are largely based on this type of conceptual metaphors, they rarely exist in isolation.

In section 2.1.3 *tenor* and *vehicle* were introduced as parts of a metaphor. When discussing conceptual metaphors, however, the entity that you wish to talk about (*tenor* in a metaphor) is called the *target domain*¹¹, and the *source domain* is where the words in their literal meaning come from (*vehicle* in a metaphor). In the above example an *argument* is the target domain and *war* is the source domain. In Lakoff’s words: “when you hear a metaphorical expression, the literal meanings of the words should activate the source domain circuitry and the context should activate the target domain circuitry, and together they should activate the mapping circuit. The result is an integrated circuit, with activation of both source and target domains and processing over both at once” (2008, 27). Lakoff’s quote also refers to something called a *mapping*. Grady (2007, 190) defines *mapping* as “systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas”, an aspect from the source domain is projected onto the target domain. As an example, the mappings for the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY include lovers as travellers, relationships as vehicles, and events in the relationship as the journey (Evans & Green 2006, 295)¹². The concept of a mapping seems simple enough. According to Fauconnier and Turner, however, “conceptual products are never the result of

¹⁰ Conceptual metaphors and metonymies will be typed in SMALL CAPS.

¹¹ For a detailed account of domains, see Langacker (1987, 147ff).

¹² See e.g. Fauconnier (1997) for a more detailed account of mapping.

a single mapping”, instead, “conceptual metaphors involve many spaces and many mappings in elaborate integration networks” that are “far richer than the bundles of pairwise bindings considered in recent theories of metaphor” (Fauconnier & Turner 2008, 53). What this suggests is that meaning is more than the sum of its parts; instead of a simple mapping, there is a far more complex integration network between the source and the target¹³.

2.2.6 Conceptual metonymy

Like metaphors, *metonymies* can also be conceptual. As metonymy was listed as one of the mechanisms that can motivate idioms in part 2.1.2, it will now be briefly described. It was stated previously that conceptual metaphors are mappings between two domains, the source and the target. Conceptual metonymies, however, are mappings within a single domain, where a comparison is made between a vehicle concept and a target concept (Evans & Green 2006, 313). In a simple example of metonymy, DIZZINESS STANDS FOR LOVE, *dizziness* is the vehicle and *love* is the target. Kövecses claims that “the purpose of metonymy is to provide mental access to a domain through a part of the same domain (or vice versa)” (2008, 381), thus for example behavioural and physiological responses standing for emotions (DIZZINESS STANDS FOR LOVE, PHYSICAL CLOSENESS STANDS FOR LOVE) are classified as metonymies¹⁴.

2.2.7 What lies behind the conceptual metaphor?

It has been established that in order for piece of figurative language to achieve the desired effect, it needs to be understandable, in other words, there needs to be a connection between the literal and the figurative, a valid reason why a particular expression has been chosen¹⁵. What this means is that, when it comes to conceptual metaphors, the source domain and the target domain must have

¹³ For more on integration and blending, see e.g. Fauconnier & Turner (1999; 2002).

¹⁴ Further on metonymy, see e.g. Kövecses & Radden (1998; 1999), Fauconnier & Turner (1999), Dirven & Pörings (2009).

¹⁵ Moreover, the recipient must be able to figure out what the connection is. According to Gibbs (1994, 136), however, it is “assumed that the metaphors will be understood like the speaker intended because of the common ground between the speaker and the listener”.

something in common. Conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions often feel very natural to the language user and the motivation (*ground* in metaphors, see part 2.1.3) for a particular metaphor is rarely questioned.

Kövecses (2002, 69 – 76) discusses some of the possible bases for conceptual metaphors, beginning with the concept of *similarity*; when there are pre-existing similarities between the entities compared, the resulting metaphor ought to fulfil its function. It, however, quickly becomes clear that not all metaphors are based on pre-existing similarities, a bicycle is not very similar to a lemon, therefore, the motivation needs to be elsewhere. Another possible motivation for a conceptual metaphor is *correlation*; the source and the target are accompanied by each other, but are not physically similar. This is best explained with an example. In the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP the motivation lies in the correlation between quantity and verticality. When liquid is poured into a glass, the quantity normally increases upwards, towards the rim of the glass, thereby correlating the experience of something increasing with verticality, hence MORE IS UP (Kovecses 2002, 70). Regular occurrences of such correlations strengthen the concept in the mind¹⁶.

A further possible motivation is *perceived structural similarity*; instead of there being a pre-existing similarity between the source and the target, the similarity is merely perceived (Kövecses 2002, 71). As an example of such a metaphor, Kövecses gives LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME, both life and a gambling game include wins, losses and taking chances, hence making it possible for us to perceive them as similar (2002, 72)¹⁷. Kövecses points out that, instead of being based on pre-existing similarity, it is implied that metaphors based on perceived structural similarity in fact *create* similarity (ibid.). This idea of a metaphor creating similarity could be the reason why the comparisons between life and a tomato or life and a cheese grater, that I mentioned in part 2.1.3, can in fact be made to work.

16 In the neural theory of metaphor (see Lakoff 2008) it is stated that "in situations where the source and target domain are both active simultaneously, the two areas of the brain for the source and target domains will both be active (Lakoff 2008, 26). This means that each time there is a correlation in experience, distinct areas in the brain will co-activate. According to the Hebbian principle neurons that fire together, wire together, from this it follows that a link will be formed between the activated areas, constituting a metaphor (ibid.).

17 Further on motivation, see Grady (1999).

In addition to perceived similarity, Kövecses mentions *perceived similarity induced by basic metaphors*. Basic or *ontological* metaphors give an entity certain characteristics that it may not inherently possess (see e.g. Kövecses 2002, 34 – 35). IDEAS ARE ENTITIES and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, for example, are examples of such metaphors, facilitating the perception of similarities between the domains of food and ideas in the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD (2002, 73 – 74).

The final type of motivation that Kövecses mentions is a phenomenon where the *source domain is the origin of the target domain*. These kind of metaphors, LOVE IS A BOND or ARGUMENT IS WAR for example, make intuitive sense because the sources represent fundamental properties of the target. Love is a bond because the foundations of love are in a type of a bond between people, and argument is war because verbal arguments have their roots in physical fights (2002, 74 – 75).

It has been established that physical experience is often used to describe the abstract. Meier and Robinson explain this by suggesting that “much of human thought is grounded in physical experience” (2005, 250). Meier and Robinson (2005, 240) state that during early childhood development sensorimotor experiences precede abstract thinking, which would suggest that abstract thought is built on perception; we use the things we can perceive to describe things that are not there for us to see. Moreover, Fetterman et al. explain that, when it comes to the temporal course of processing in the brain, “the cortices in the back of the brain are responsible for object identification processes of a particularly perceptual type. Subsequently, the temporal and frontal cortices of the brain then attempt to assign meaning to stimuli *subsequent* to their perceptual recognition” (Fetterman et al. 2012, 1446). Simply put, perception precedes conception, making it more likely that it is perception that influences conception, not the other way around. Applying these ideas to metaphor, since we use metaphor to describe the abstract, it would follow that metaphors are based on physical experience. Meier and Robinson state that the colour black is often seen as representing something bad, for example football players in dark uniforms are seen as malevolent, they are given more penalties, and, via association, they behave in a more aggressive manner (Meier & Robinson

2005, 243). This kind of association could for example be based on our physical experience of 'blackness', our primal fear of the dark. Another common association between experience and the abstract is that of happiness as being up and sadness as being down, which could be grounded in our physical reactions to said emotions, as James puts it: "in depression flexors tend to prevail, in elation or belligerent excitement the extensors take lead" (1884, 192).

2.3 Previous studies

Above I have discussed idioms, metaphors and metonymies as examples of figurative language. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the purpose that figurative language serves might be something greater than merely ornamental, there may even be a fundamental connection between figurative language and thought patterns in the mind. The human conceptual system contains thousands upon thousands of both abstract and concrete concepts and somehow connections are made between them, what is more, the connections do not seem to be random.

In this section some of the previous studies on the topic of figurative language and thought will be summarized. The first part features evidence on the psychological reality of the connection between the abstract and the concrete, and the second part contains studies on metaphors for emotions, providing examples of studies that likewise contribute to the study of the conceptual basis of metaphorical expressions.

2.3.1 Psychological reality of metaphors

According to Grady (2007, 195), there is evidence that the mappings described by metaphors are psychologically real, that is to say, the mapping is more than an accidental, lexical connection. Grady states that there are systematic and predictable associations between sets of ideas from different domains, therefore, it is easier to assume that the domains are connected on some level of understanding rather than stating that the patterns have emerged one lexical item at a time,

furthermore, novel metaphorical expressions are often immediately understood, hence suggesting that the pattern exists before the expression does (ibid.).

In a study by Gibbs (1994, 163) it was discovered that, when interpreting metaphorical idioms, there are consistencies in the emerging mental images that go beyond the information provided by the idioms themselves. Also, mental images of phrases that are non-idiomatic are much more varied, which Gibbs explains with the fact that they are not based on pre-existing conceptual metaphors (ibid.). Further evidence for psychological reality can be found for example in studies on metaphorically motivated gestures, or movements of the hands representing the source domain, as well as studies performed in the field of experimental psychology¹⁸.

There is a strong connection between physical experience and abstract thought which naturally extends to language use, manifesting itself in the clever use of our experience of the physical world by transferring concepts from the concrete side to the abstract. As can be expected, however, this connection between metaphor and thought has been criticized for example by Davidson (quoted in Grady 2007, 196), who claims that any two juxtaposed entities can be seen as having a metaphorical connection. This was hinted at before when discussing the topic of metaphor as creating similarity in section 2.1.7, all one needs to do is recognize some shared feature and the metaphor will function perfectly fine. Grady, however, points out that Davidson's argument disregards the fact that recurring pairings between source domains and target domains do exist, for example understanding is often associated with seeing, but no such recurring connection exists between understanding and fighting (Grady 2007, 196). In another context Grady acknowledges that some conceptual metaphors seem to show up in languages that are not related, for instance the common association of something important as being *large* can be found, among others, in Hawaiian (nui), Malay (besar), Russian (krupnij), Turkish (büyük) and Zulu (-khulu) (Grady 2007, 194).

18 On metaphorically motivated gestures, see e.g. McNeill (1992), or Cienki & Müller (2008). For experimental psychology, see e.g. Casasanto & Boroditsky (2008), where non-linguistic tests are used to study the connection between time and space, and Gentner et al. (2013), that features a comparison between non-linguistic spatial skills in deaf children without conventional language and hearing children with conventional language.

2.3.2 Metaphors for emotion

The connection between figurative language and emotion has been studied rather extensively. The results indicate that, as has been suggested earlier, metaphorical expressions are not random, and that there is reason to believe that the patterns discovered among expressions reflect fundamental patterns in the mind.

Lakoff and Kövecses begin their analysis on the concept of anger with a general metonymic principle: physiological effects of an emotion stand for the emotion (1987, 196). Based on this, increased body heat and redness in the face, for example, are both metonymies for anger (Billy's a *hothead*, he got *red with anger*) (1987, 197). According to Fetterman et al., the colour red is associated with anger and danger in many cultures, linking to the connotations with heat, fire and blood, as well as red face as a sign of physiological effects of emotion (2012, 1446). In further studies by Kövecses on metaphors for pride and love, the physiological effects are likewise recognized, with redness in the face and increased heart rate being among the themes in metonymies for pride *he flushed with pride*, *her heart fluttered with pride* (Kövecses 1986, 40) and love: *she blushed when she saw him*, *she had palpitations* (Kövecses 1986, 86 – 87). It is pointed out that “the behavioural reaction of an emotion can stand for the emotion” as well, with erect posture, chest out and head held high as some of the themes found among metonymies for pride (1986, 40).

Further on behaviour related metaphors and metonymies, animals are a common theme among expressions for emotions. According to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987, 206) the metaphor PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON is widespread in Western culture. What this metaphor suggests is that there is a wild animal inside each person, and when one loses control, that animal gets loose. From this it follows that “the behaviour of a person who has lost control is the behaviour of a wild animal” (ibid.). In his study on happiness, Kövecses lists the metaphors HAPPINESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL (his feelings of happiness *broke loose*) and A HAPPY PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (THAT

LIVES WELL) (he was *happy as a pig in shit*) (1991, 35 – 36).

The ontological metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER (FOR EMOTION) appears to be a very basic assumption when it comes to metaphors for emotion. As was pointed out in section 2.1.7, this kind of metaphors essentially make it possible for us to see and create structure where there is none. The container metaphor is present in for example *he was filled with anger* and *she couldn't contain her joy* (Lakoff & Kövecses 1987, 198). Building on the idea of the body as a container, emotion is perceived as fluid in a container, one can for example be *filled with pride*, *full of joy*, *bubble over with joy*, *filled with sorrow*, *overflowing with love*, or *boiling with anger* (see e.g. Kövecses 1991; 1998). In addition to physiological and behavioural effects, *orientational* metaphors are included when discussing emotions. When it comes to happiness, one can be *upbeat*, or *cheer someone up*, and conversely, with sadness, one can *feel down*, or *bring someone down*.

The topic of insanity can also be found among metaphors for emotion. According to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987, 204), the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY is the reason why the word *mad* can, among other definitions, be defined as *angry*. Lakoff and Kövecses explain that we associate agitation with insanity, both angry and insane people can *go crazy*, *go bananas*, or *go into insane rage*, and this overlap between the effects of anger and insanity explains the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY (ibid.). In addition to anger, for example happiness or desire can be described as insanity (*crazy with happiness*, *mad with joy*, *fall madly in love*) (see e.g. Kövecses 1991; 2008, Deignan 1997)

Lakoff and Kövecses suggest that the metaphors for a single concept work together to help characterize said concept (1987, 211). In the case of anger, all the different expressions fit nicely into a scenario starting with an offending event, which leads to anger, an attempt to control said anger, followed by loss of control, and finally the act of retribution (ibid.). For further studies on metaphors and emotion, see for example Esenova (2009) on anger, Tissari (2006a) on love, or (2006b) on pride, and (2010) more generally on emotion words, Koivisto-Alanko and Tissari (2006)

on the differences between expressions for emotion and reason, and Kövecses (1998) on emotion specific metaphors, or (2008) more generally on emotion metaphors.

When it comes to madness, despite the fact that it is not an emotion in itself, I do believe that there are similarities between metaphors and metonymies for emotions and madness. This is based on the assumption that madness is often reflected in behaviour, much like emotions. Furthermore, certain emotions, such as extreme enthusiasm and violent outbursts, are associated with various mental disorders, further strengthening the connection between madness and emotion.

3. Data and Method

In this section the primary data and the methods employed will be introduced. In addition to this, owing to the fact that the purpose of this thesis is to explore the concept of madness, I find it necessary to discuss the definition of the word *madness*, as well as to determine what it refers to in this thesis.

Based on the results from previous studies on the relationship between lexical items and the conceptual system, it can be said that it is indeed possible to uncover parts of the conceptual system by studying the lexicon of a language. In order to reveal some of the concepts associated with madness, I have decided to study idiomatic expressions, both phrases and words, for madness and the motivation behind them, be it conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymy, conventional knowledge, or something else.

3.1 Madness

There are at least four different definitions for the word *madness*; imprudence, insanity, excitement, and anger (OED s.v. *madness*, n). The aspect that I have chosen to work with is *insanity*. As insanity refers to mental illness, it must be pointed out that it certainly is not my aim to make light of such serious conditions. It seems, however, that a large number of the expressions included in the data

are perhaps more jocular in nature and certainly can be used to refer to people who do not suffer from any serious mental illnesses, but merely seem to do so. Along with *insane* (not of sound mind, mad, mentally deranged. Also of the mind: Unsound. (OED s.v. *insane*, adj, n)), I have chosen two related words, *crazy* (“a mad or eccentric person” (OED s.v. *crazy*, n)), and *eccentric* (“deviating from usual methods, odd, whimsical” (OED s.v. *eccentric*, adj,n)) to be included under the concept that in the present thesis will be referred to as MADNESS.

3.2 Data and method

The data consists of one-hundred expressions for MADNESS. The expressions analyzed come from a variety of dictionaries, the main one being *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang* (CDS). This particular dictionary was chosen because it offers a wide selection of expressions that are or have been used in different varieties of English. The main examples were collected from CDS using a method of browsing, where I went through the dictionary looking for words and expressions defined as 'mad', 'insane', 'crazy' or 'eccentric', a combination thereof, or something very similar to these definitions (the definitions for each lexical item can be found in table X in the appendix). I also went through other dictionaries (listed in table X) in order to find further examples to fit patterns that were discovered while analyzing the data. Owing to the fact that, within the limits of this study, it was only possible to concentrate on a relatively small number of expressions, I randomly picked a few idioms to represent each idiom scheme, and settled for a relatively small sample to represent each theme.

The list of linguistic units under analysis consists of a medley of expressions including idioms, similes, phrasal verbs, as well as single-word units which I will commonly refer to as idiomatic expressions, expressions, or phrases. All the expressions analyzed are listed in table 1, a more detailed table with definitions and sources can be found in the appendix.

Table 1. Primary data

<p>4.1 Head</p> <p>4.1.1 Chaos <i>a kangaroo loose in the top paddock</i> <i>rats in the upper story</i> <i>have a rat</i> <i>have maggots in one's head</i> <i>have bats in one's belfry</i> <i>toys in the attic</i></p> <p>4.1.2 Barm <i>barmy</i> <i>balmy</i> <i>barmpot</i></p> <p>4.1.3 Irrational <i>off one's head</i> <i>off one's onion</i> <i>off one's nut</i></p> <p>4.2 Broken</p> <p>4.2.1 Cracked <i>cracked</i> <i>crackbrained</i> <i>cracked in the filbert</i> <i>crackpot</i> <i>cracked as a broken pot</i> <i>crackers</i></p> <p>4.2.2 Faulty <i>have a screw loose</i> <i>have a button loose</i> <i>have a tile loose</i> <i>have a slate loose</i> <i>loose in the bean</i> <i>loose up top</i></p> <p>4.3 Nuts and fruit <i>nut</i> <i>nutty</i> <i>nuts</i> <i>nutcase</i> <i>nuts-and-bolts</i> <i>nutty as a fruitcake</i> <i>nutty as a walnut tree</i> <i>nutty as a pecan grove</i> <i>fruitcake</i> <i>fruity</i> <i>fruit loop</i></p>	<p>4.4 Tangled <i>loopy</i> <i>round the bend</i> <i>harpic</i> <i>round the twist</i> <i>crank</i></p> <p>4.5 Something is missing</p> <p>4.5.1 Missing <i>lose one's marbles</i> <i>apartments to let</i></p> <p>4.5.2 Incomplete <i>a shingle short</i> <i>a few bricks short of a load</i> <i>a few sandwiches short of a picnic</i> <i>a few fruit loops shy of a bowl</i> <i>a few pecans short of a fruitcake</i> <i>not the full quid.</i></p> <p>4.6 Animals <i>barking mad</i> <i>upton park</i> <i>mad as a maggot</i> <i>barmy as a bandicoot</i> <i>mad as a march hare</i> <i>crazy as a loon</i> <i>cuckoo</i> <i>kooky</i> <i>mad as a gumtree full of galahs.</i></p> <p>4.7 Uncontrolled</p> <p>4.7.1 Bananas <i>bananas</i> <i>go bananas</i> <i>go ape</i></p> <p>4.7.2 Unsteady <i>bonkers</i> <i>dippy</i> <i>dotty</i></p> <p>4.7.3 Unpredictable <i>screwball</i> <i>off the wall</i></p>	<p>4.7.4 Flip <i>flip one's lid</i> <i>flip one's wig</i> <i>flip one's beanie</i> <i>flip one's bananas</i> <i>flip out</i> <i>flippy</i></p> <p>4.7.5 Rage <i>beserko</i> <i>mad as a meataxe</i> <i>mad as a cut snake</i> <i>batshit crazy</i></p> <p>4.8 Absence <i>out to lunch</i> <i>away with the fairies</i> <i>over the rainbow</i> <i>gone fishing</i></p> <p>4.9 Imbalance <i>off one's base</i> <i>off one's rocker</i> <i>off one's trolley</i> <i>off the rails</i> <i>off the hooks</i></p> <p>4.10 Absurd <i>queer in the attic</i> <i>queer in the garret</i> <i>queer as Dick's hatband</i> <i>queer as a clockwork orange</i> <i>silly as a two-bob watch</i> <i>queer as a three-dollar bill</i></p> <p>4.11 Clinically insane</p> <p>4.11.1 Medical <i>lunatic</i> <i>have a moon-flaw in the brain</i> <i>go troppo</i></p> <p>4.11.2 Occupations and activities <i>basket case</i> <i>mad as a weaver</i> <i>mad as a hatter</i></p> <p>4.11.3 Behaviour <i>up the wall</i> <i>up the pole</i> <i>butterfly case</i> <i>stands on his head</i></p>
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To begin with, the data gathered were divided into groups based on clearly visible similarities, for example each expression with the word *head* or a synonym thereof was put in one group, all expressions with references to animals in another, examples of one idiom scheme went together, and so on. The final grouping, as presented in table 1, is based on similarities that emerged during the analysis. After the initial division, each expression underwent an analysis that was conducted with the help of dictionaries and other relevant sources. Each expression was decomposed and defined literally in search of the connecting factor between the literal and the figurative. This process led to a motivation, or at least a plausible motivation for the expression, answering the first one of the research questions, what lies behind idiomatic expressions for insanity, craziness and eccentricity? Owing to the fact that some of the expressions analyzed were more opaque than others, a number of them have been discussed in more detail than others, the more transparent ones. This, however, does not mean that the opaque expressions are more central than the transparent ones, the length of the discussion merely reflects the distance and the bumpiness of the road between the expression and its plausible motivation.

It must now be pointed out that I am aware of the fact that meanings of words, as well as expressions, do change. Therefore, current and past or alternate definitions of expressions may not always be connected in any relevant way. My aim, however, is to look for patterns among the expressions studied, and in order to achieve that, I will be looking at different definitions of words and expressions that may or may not be connected. If I do detect a possible pattern somewhere, I cannot be certain that the said pattern does in fact exist, it is all mere speculation. Having said that, sometimes the parts do fit together awfully well.

Once the data had been analyzed, patterns began to emerge, providing answers to research questions two and three; are there any recurring themes, and what kind of conceptual metaphors and metonymies can be found?. The themes, patterns, metaphors, and metonymies served as bases for further analysis on what kind of assumptions these expressions make about MADNESS, ultimately

leading to an answer for the final research question; based on the motivations discovered, how is madness perceived? Furthermore, what does this possibly say about sanity?

Several dictionaries have been referenced, and an abbreviation has been assigned for each dictionary used (Table 2). In addition to contemporary ones, three older dictionaries have been referenced; the 1788 edition of *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, the 1905 edition of *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English* and the 1889 edition of *Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant*. These three were chosen because they were often provided by OED as among the earliest recorded occurrences of the expressions under analysis. Owing to the fact that I was able to locate online versions of said dictionaries, I decided to include them among the dictionaries used.

Table 2. Dictionaries referenced

Abbreviation	Dictionary	Edition
ADEE	<i>An Asperger dictionary of Everyday Expressions</i>	2006
BDPF	<i>Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable</i>	2007
CDS	<i>Cassell's Dictionary of Slang</i>	2000
CDVT	<i>A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue</i>	1788
DSCE	<i>A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English</i>	1905
DSJC	<i>Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant</i>	1889
DSUE	<i>Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English</i>	2002
FD	<i>Food: A dictionary of Literal and Non-literal Terms</i>	2000
HDAS	<i>Historical Dictionary of American Slang</i>	1997
ODEI	<i>Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms</i>	2012
ODPF	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable</i>	2006
ODRA	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Reference and Allusion</i>	2010
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>	
PE	<i>Picturesque Expressions: a thematic Dictionary</i>	1985
TTEM	<i>Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors</i>	2002
WDP	<i>Wordsworth Dictionary of Proverbs</i>	2006

4. Analysis

This section contains the analysis of the one hundred idiomatic expressions for MADNESS listed in table 1 (on page 25). The analysis has been organized into sections based on the patterns that emerged from the data, similarly, tables 1 and X (appendix) have been built around the same system. The eleven main titles represent the general patterns that the expressions seem to follow, furthermore, some of the eleven sections have been divided into subsections based on further patterns or structural similarities. Some of the expressions analyzed may well fit into more than one group and in such cases the other possible groups will be mentioned, however, for the sake of clarity, each expression has only been included under one heading and subheading.

The order in which the expressions have been presented follows a pattern proceeding from where the madness is presumably located, to what causes madness, to symptoms, or how it affects behaviour, and finally to how madness might look to outsiders. Part 4.1 titled 'head' introduces a group of idiomatic expressions where the central theme is the human head, 4.2, or 'broken' discusses madness as being connected to being faulty or in need of repair, part 4.3 discusses expressions related to nuts and fruit, part 4.4, 'tangled' contrasts a normal person with the tangles of an insane one, in 4.5, titled 'incomplete', the aspects of madness as being lack of something are explored. Part 4.6, 'animals', focuses on the similarities between animals and mad people, part 4.7, 'uncontrolled', describes how lack of control can be a sign of madness, 4.8, or 'absence' discusses madness as absence as opposed to presence. Part 4.9, 'imbalance', gives examples of expressions that in one way or another refer to a disruption in the usual flow of things, part 4.10, titled 'absurd', focuses on madness as something utterly strange. Finally, part 4.11, titled 'clinically insane', contains expressions that are somehow connected to actual mental illness.

4.1 Head

All of the expressions under analysis in this section seem to insinuate that MADNESS is located in the head. As a matter of fact 45 of the 100 (see table X in the appendix for full list) idiomatic

expressions analyzed did include some kind of a reference to the human head, but not all of them are discussed in this part. The expressions that have been included under this section have been divided further into three groups based on structural similarities. The first group, 'chaos', contains expressions that all follow the idiom scheme *X in the (head)*, they are: *a kangaroo loose in the top paddock*, *rats in the upper story*, *have a rat*, *have maggots in one's head*, *have bats in one's belfry*, and *toys in the attic*, the second group is titled 'barm' and contains the expressions *barmy*, *balmy* and *barmpot*. The third group, 'irrationality', follows the general structure *off one's (head)*, and it contains the expressions *off one's head*, *off one's onion*, and *off one's nut*.

4.1.1 Chaos

A relatively common idiom scheme that some of the head-related expressions follow is *X in the (head)*, *have maggots in one's head* is a prime example of the said pattern. According to OED this expression was already in use in the 17th century as proven by example (1) from circa 1625

(1) Are not you mad my friend?... Have not you Maggots in your braines?
(OED s.v. Maggot n1. 2a).

Apart from being a small worm, OED also defines maggot as “a whimsical, eccentric, strange, or perverse notion or idea” (ibid.). It is, however, likely, that the connection between maggots and ideas stems from the expression *have maggots in one's head* rather than the other way around.

DSCJ explains that “it was once a popular belief that small maggots were generated in the human brain, so that the fretting of these insects produced odd fancies and foolish notions” (s.v. *maggots*).

Rats in the upper storey or *rats in the garret* are slightly more recent examples of the pattern under analysis, dating back to the 19th century as suggested by the following examples (2) and (3).

(2) (1842) This..excited a general inquiry—some opining that I had rats in the garret, and would require a gentle restraint and antiphlogistic regimen
(OED s.v. *to have rats in one's garret*).

(3) (1889) Upper storey (popular), the head; rats in the upper storey, crazy. Also “upper works” (DSJC s.v. *upper storey*).

CDS also lists *have a rat* as a saying for “to act crazily or in an eccentric manner” (s.v. *have a rat*), unfortunately CDS does not suggest a possible origin and hence I cannot be certain whether or not *have rats in the upper storey* is indeed the origin of *have a rat*. Nevertheless, DSJC lists a similar expression, *to have or see rats*, defined as “the incipient stage of delirium tremens”, and DSCE defines the same phrase as “(1) to be eccentric, (2) out of sorts, (3) drunk, and (4) crazy: also rats in the garret (loft, or upper storey)”. Therefore it could be speculated that both *have rats in the upper storey* and *have a rat* refer to a mad person who has a figurative rat infestation inside their cranium.

Have bats in one's belfry, or *batty* for short, also follows the same idiom scheme. It is explained in PE that “the erratic flight of bats in bell towers interferes with the proper ringing and tone of the bells, just as crazy notions darting about one’s brain weaken its ability to function” (s.v. *have bats in (one's) belfry*), hence, *have bats in one's belfry*. Furthermore, it is mentioned that “the analogy between sanity and finely tuned bells is an old one; its most famous expression is in Ophelia’s description of the 'mad' Hamlet: 'Now see that noble and most sovereign reason, like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh' (III, I).” (ibid.) Therefore it is both the bats and the bells that contribute to the resulting mental image of MADNESS.

Further examples of the *X in the (head)* scheme are easy to find and invent. An evidently Australian example of the pattern is *have a kangaroo loose in the top paddock*, and a second example, *toys in the attic*, can be spotted in a song by Pink Floyd called “the Trial” where the lyrics go:

(4) Crazy, toys in the attic I am crazy,
Truly gone fishing
They must have taken my marbles away
(Crazy, toys in the attic he's crazy)
(Waters & Ezrin 1979).

All of the above expressions have demonstrated that MADNESS is, at least in part, connected with the head and the brain. When a person is mad, there is something extra in the head that causes crazy notions to appear, or perhaps the head has become an abandoned space that has been taken

over by rats or kangaroos. Based on the examples provided it seems that the conceptual metaphors behind these type of expressions could be something along the lines of MADNESS IS CHAOS (IN THE HEAD) or MADNESS IS DISORDER (IN THE HEAD).

4.1.2 Barm

OED defines the adjective *barmy*, as in “gud barmie ail” as “covered with barm” or “frothing” (OED s.v. *barmy*). Literally, 'barm' is “the froth that forms on the top of fermenting malt liquors, which is used to leaven bread, and to cause fermentation in other liquors; yeast, leaven”(OED s.v. *barm*). By the year 1602 *barmy* could also be used figuratively, meaning “excitedly active” or “flighty” (OED s.v. *barmy*), perhaps with reference to the 'activeness' of foamy barm. Now, since over-active and hap-hazard behaviour is often seen as craziness, the connection between barm and crazy has been formed, however, as can be seen in examples (5) and (6) from OED, barminess does not necessarily refer to excitement and flightiness.

(5) (1892) One plan is..to give foolish answers when asked questions. By this means the shammer gets known as being ‘barmy’ (weak-minded) among his shipmates.

(6) (1896) Should not ‘balmy’ be ‘barmy’? I have known a person of weak intellect called ‘Barmy Billy’ ... The prisoner..meant to simulate semi-idiocy, or ‘barminess’, not ‘balminess’.

Both (5) and (6) appear to hint that barminess is connected to weak intellect. Here the insinuation could be that barmy people have foam – or air – for brains.

The word *balmy* is also mentioned in example (6). DSJC defines it as “sleepy, from balmy (lit., soothing) sleep; weak-minded, dull, easily imposed upon, mad” (s.v. *balmy*), with no reference to barm whatsoever. DSCE, however, includes *balmy* under the definition of *barmy*, giving the following explanation: “Barmy (balmy): excited, flighty, empty-headed (i.e. full of nothing but froth); barmy-brained, crazy; barmy-froth, a simpleton, muddle-head; to put on the balmy stick (prison), to feign madness” (DSCE s.v. *barmy*). What this definition seems to reveal is that, firstly,

the adjective *barmy* is indeed a reference to having a head full of froth and not much else, and secondly, there is a connection between *barmy* and *balmy stick*. DSJC elaborates further:

Among convicts to 'put on the balmy stick' is to feign insanity. 'There was always a number putting on the 'balmy stick'— or, in plain terms, feigning insanity. Nobody in prison believes in brain disease. Every lunatic is accused of 'putting it on,' and is punished for it. There are always a dozen or so in the balmy ward' (DSJC s.v. *balmy*).

Furthermore, Jack points out how “in English prisons inmates used to feign madness by 'putting on the barmy stick’” (Jack 2004, 179), here the connection is made to 'frothing at the mouth' which is commonly associated with insanity. Again, it seems that *barmy* and *balmy* can be used interchangeably, furthermore, when spoken in a non-rhotic accent, *balmy* and *barmy* are homophones, making it hard to tell which one is being used.

Barmpot, according to DSUE (s.v. *barmpot*), is a combination of *barmy* and *potty*, both words for crazy. The origin of *potty* is unclear, but could possibly be related to drunkenness. CDS suggests that *barmpot* is made up of the root *barm* and the suffix *-pot*, with *-pot* serving as a reference to the head or the person as a container (s.v. *barmpot*). OED, however, lists “pot for storing barm” (s.v. *barmpot*) as one of the definitions for *barmpot*, making it a fairly simple explanation and – if Occam's razor is to be trusted – the best explanation for this expression.

In conclusion, what *barmy* and *barmpot* seem to insinuate is that a mad person's head is filled with barm or, alternatively, they are frothing at the mouth. A further connection could possibly be made to drunkenness. Owing to the overlapping usage and definitions of *barmy* and *balmy*, it is hard to tell whether the associations are the same with both words or if *balmy* could have additional ones, perhaps connected to having a sleepy, slow brain.

4.1.3 Irrationality

Possibly one of the most productive idiom schemes for describing someone as being insane is the *off one's X* construction. X being a synonym for *head*, *off one's head*, *off one's onion* and *off one's nut* all follow the pattern, and with a little bit of imagination *off one's X* can produce a countless

number of further expressions. It seems that the *X* can be replaced with technically any word that refers to something resembling or relating to a human head; you can be off your *nob*, *skull*, *crumpet*, *nana* or *gourd*, as well as *off your pannikin* or *cake*. Based on this pattern it should not be too hard to come up with things that look like a head and then replace *X* with it, how about *coconut*, *pumpkin* or *biscuit*? The earliest variation of the *off ones X*-formulation seems to be *off one's head*, first printed in 1842 (OED s.v. *head*). This is basically an alternative way of saying *out of one's mind*. Consequently, provided that the head or mind is where a person's reason or logic lies, the conceptual metaphor for being *off one's X* could perhaps be MADNESS IS IRRATIONAL. It might be worth mentioning, however, that the pattern in question is not always used as a synonym for *crazy* or *eccentric*, in some cases it is a euphemism for being intoxicated (e.g. *off one's face*).

4.2 Broken

This section contains expressions that seem to insinuate that MADNESS is caused by some sort of fault in a person's head, or in the mad person in general. The expressions have been divided into two sub groups based on further similarities, the first group titled 'cracked' consists of expressions that have something to do with cracks: *cracked*, *crackbrained*, *cracked in the filbert*, *crackpot*, *cracked as a broken pot* and *crackers*. The second group, 'faulty', includes members of the idiom scheme *have a (flaw)*: *have a screw loose*, *have a button loose*, *have a tile loose*, *have a slate loose* as well as two further examples of faultiness, *loose in the bean* and *loose up top*.

4.2.1 Cracked

The portrayal of a mad person as being somehow broken or faulty seems to be among the oldest themes of the ones under analysis. According to OED, *cracked* can be dated all the way back to 1610, closely followed by *crack brained* in 1634. Since the literal meaning of *cracked* is “broken by a sharp blow” (OED s.v. *cracked* adj.1), it could be suggested that this is what has happened to a

mad head.

A *filbert* is the “fruit of nut of the cultivated hazel” (OED s.v. *filbert*), and as is the case with the word *nut*, which will be discussed in section 4.3, *filbert* can also be used to refer to the head, hence the expression *cracked in the filbert*. OED does not list the full phrase as a separate entry, but the following quote listed under *filbert* suggests that this expression has already been around in 1886:

(7) Cracked in the filbert,..dotty (OED s.v. *Filbert*).

Furthermore, the 1889 edition of DSJC mentions that *cracked nut* is a common term to describe “the head of an insane person” (s.v. *cracked nut*).

The same idea of a person having a cracked head is reflected in the noun *crackpot*, where *pot* can be interpreted as referring to the skull (CDS s.v. *crackpot* n.). TTEM lists the expression *cracked as a broken pot*, and it is suggested that this is the phrase behind the term *crackpot*. However, in her article “crackpots and basket-cases: a history of therapeutic work and occupation”, Laws explains that *crackpot* used to be associated with actual pots as well:

By 1909, for example, Hall had discontinued teaching pottery at the sanatorium due to fears that it was too hard for patients to manage the frequent accident with the pots. ... From the mid-20th century onwards, the earlier colloquialism 'crackpot' (literally, a cracked head) became associated with the imagined lack of dexterity of workers in occupational therapy as a sign of poor craftsmanship and faulty merchandise (Laws 2011, 71).

But as is mentioned in the above quote, this association between pots and mad people came later, this implies that the origin of crackpot is in fact a cracked head or skull, not a broken pot.

Crackers dates from the 1920s. It is defined in the 1925 edition of *Soldier and Sailor Words* as “to get the crackers, to go off one's head. Mad” (OED s.v. *crackers*). A *cracker*, then, is “an unleavened, unsweetened, wheat-flour wafer that [makes] a cracking sound when broken”, and “a person who is 'driven crackers' falls apart like a handful of soda crackers being crumbled into a bowl of tomato soup” (FD s.v. *drive someone crackers*). *Balderdash & Piffle* (2007) also make the connection between crackers and the brittleness of the human brain. Based on these definitions it

can be concluded that an insane, crazy or eccentric person shows signs of having a broken head or skull, or of generally crumbling like a cracker, and as a result the metaphor MADNESS IS BROKENNESS emerges.

Interestingly, the adjective *crazy* can also be defined as “full of cracks or flaws; damaged, impaired, unsound; liable to break or fall to pieces; frail, ‘shaky’. (Now usually of ships, buildings, etc.)”(OED s.v. *crazy* adj. 1). According to OED, *crazy* comes from the now obsolete verb *craze*, which can be defined for example as “to break by concussion or violent pressure; to break in pieces or asunder; to shatter” (OED s.v. *craze* v. 1a) or “to break the surface of, batter with blows, bruise, crush, damage” (OED s.v. *craze* v. 1b). This would suggest that the word *crazy* itself may actually be based on the conceptual metaphor MADNESS IS BROKENNESS.

4.2.2 Faulty

Continuing with the themes of faultiness and brokenness, *have a screw loose* and *have a button loose* are references to a crazy person's faulty mental system. OED defines *screw loose* as “something wrong in the condition of things; a dangerous weakness in some arrangement” (s.v. *screw loose*), but nowadays it is usually used “with reference to persons or their mental faculties ... to be eccentric, insane, or mentally retarded” (ibid.). Therefore, having a *screw* or a *button loose* refers to a weakness in the main piece of machinery, or the head, that causes a person to act crazy.

Further expressions that play with the idea of faultiness include *have a tile loose* and *have a slate loose*. Since both expressions are derived from roofing tiles, there is a clear connection to the human head as the roof of the human being as demonstrated in example (7).

(8) (1846) “there is not a tile off your upper story”, as they say in the north
(OED s.v. *tile* 1g).

The basic theme of having a defective head can also be detected in the expressions *loose in the bean* and *loose up top*. As a result it could be stated that MADNESS IS FAULTINESS and more precisely, this defect is located in the head, the roof of a human being, or the mind, the machine that

makes a person tick.

4.3 Nuts and fruit

In this section nut and fruit -related expressions will be discussed. The expressions regarding nuts, *nut*, *nuts*, *nutty*, *nutcase*, *nuts-and-bolts*, *nutty as a fruitcake*, *nutty as a walnut tree* and *nutty as a pecan grove* could have been placed under the headings 'head' or 'broken', but since neither would have done them justice, I decided to place them somewhere between brokenness and tangles, and mix them with the expressions concerning fruit: *fruitcake*, *fruity*, and *fruit-loop*.

A nut is a type of hard-shelled fruit, and in addition to being a nutrition-packed snack, it has also inspired plenty of figurative language for MADNESS. The simplest explanation for why this is the case is that *nut* is in fact a slang word for the human head, the OED dates *nut* back to 1841

(9) who ever thought you had so much poetry in that woolly nut of yours
(s.v. *nut* n.12)

and it was extended to refer to the whole person before 1856

(10) Beeswing was as hard lookin an old nut as you'd find on a twelve hours' travel (s.v. *nut* 6a).

FD points out that it is probable that the connection between being *crazy* and being *nuts* stems from the resemblance between a head and a nut with its hard shell and the kernel inside it (s.v. *nut*). A walnut kernel does look quite a lot like the human brain. Moreover, in order to reach the edible part, the hard shell needs to be cracked. This would tie in well with the brokenness and brittleness aspect of MADNESS. When further examining OED entries, it turns out that the expression *off one's nut* (see 4.1.3), a variation of *off one's head*, dates back to 1858

(11) “if this goes on much longer I shall cut In the vernacular she's ‘off her nut’”,

and could likewise be a reason for the connection between nuts and MADNESS.

In addition to *nut* and *nuts*, *nutty* is also a synonym for craziness. While *Balderdash & Piffle* mentions that being *nutty* is probably an allusion to having a hard centre for a brain (2007), another,

earlier sense for *nutty* “infatuated, fond; enamoured of a person or thing” (OED s.v. *nutty* 3a), might also have influenced the 'crazy' meaning of *nutty*. After all, being infatuated with someone can make one act in a way that could be seen as mad, but where is the connection between infatuation and nuts? The suggested origin for the 'infatuated' definition of *nutty* is *nuts*, defined as “to be infatuated with or fond of (a person)” (OED s.v. *nuts* adj.1) first recorded in 1785. According to OED the origin of this expression is unclear, but it could have something to do with *nut*, meaning “a source of pleasure or delight (*to* or *for* a person); *for nuts*: for amusement, for fun.” (OED s.v. *nuts* 5a), with the first recorded instance from circa 1625. OED suggests that the full form of this expression may have been *nuts and cheese*, denoting something that may please a person (s.v. *nuts*). From this evidence it can be concluded that there may be more than one reason for why nuttiness is madness; being *off your head*, or *nut*, being infatuated with something or someone, or having a head that is either already cracked or prone to cracking, or indeed, having a hard head.

Further variations of *nut*, *nuts* and *nutty* include *nutcase* and *nuts-and-bolts*. *Nutcase* is also a modification on *mental case*, which is what an actual mental patient could be called. *Nuts-and-bolts* in turn is a play on the different meanings of the word nuts; crazy and hardware fastener. *Nutty* can also be found in a number of similes denoting MADNESS. *Nutty as a fruitcake* is a prime example of a common simile that combines two kinds of crazy: *nuts* and *fruitcakes*, the latter will be discussed subsequently. HDAS lists Eugene O'Neill's 1914 play *the Movie Man* as the first documentation of the simile *nutty as a fruitcake*:

(12) we sure are as nutty as a fruitcake or we wouldn't be here (s.v. *nutty*).

The same dictionary entry also lists other variations of the simile, such as *nutty as a walnut tree* and *nutty as a pecan grove*. In all of these similes there is play with two different meanings of the word *nutty*: something that contains nuts i.e. fruitcakes or something that is a nut, i.e. walnut or pecan, and the word *nutty* as a synonym for *mad*, *crazy*, or *eccentric*.

It is likely, that the expression *nutty as a fruitcake* is the reason for *fruitcake* becoming an

independent word for an eccentric or peculiar person. Both fruitcakes and crazy people are nutty, therefore, following some kind of logic, crazy people can be called fruitcakes. However, apart from this, there might be more to the story. Perhaps a closer look at fruitcakes could shed some light on the matter. According to Sietsema (2002), the birth of fruitcake can be blamed on cheap sugar and the need to conserve large amounts of fruit. It was discovered that when the fruits are soaked in concentrations of sugar they could be preserved for long periods of time, making it possible to import strange fruits from far away countries. Soon, however, people were faced with a problem: what to do with all those candied fruit? As a solution, the fruitcake was born. The fruitcake was basically a dumping ground for all the preserved fruit and nuts that would otherwise have gone to waste. Over the years fruitcake has grown into a bit of a joke. The reason for baking fruitcakes most likely has nothing to do with them having a nice flavour, people do not seem to want to eat them. Sietsema (ibid.) points out that "the worst gift is fruitcake. There is only one fruitcake in the entire world, and people keep sending it to each other", furthermore, FD (s.v. *fruitcake*) notes that the fruitcake "is as heavy as a brick, loaded with calories, and able to survive in the back of the refrigerator for years (esp. if soaked in brandy or liquor and wrapped in aluminum foil)".

The infamous fruitcake is simply a jumble of brightly coloured, overly sweet bits of leftover fruit, with the odd crunchy nut thrown in, therefore, *crazy* seems to be quite a suitable word to describe this highly underrated Christmas treat. Furthermore, in his book on madness, Symington describes madness as "a gelatinous mass with no distinguishable forms, jelly that contains a jumble of bits" resulting from inner destructive action (2002, 85). Madness is quite simply being a mess inside, not unlike a fruitcake. Other variations of the term *fruitcake* with the meaning 'crazy' include *nutcake* and *bananacake*. Since both *nuts* and *bananas* are references to eccentricity, the terms seem to be suitable ways of describing crazy people.

While on the topic of fruit, it could be pointed out that fruits and fruitiness are also common themes among expressions for MADNESS. CDS lists *fruity* as a 1920s+ slang term for 'crazy', and it

is probably based on the expression *nutty as a fruitcake*. The adjective *fruity* occurs alone, but there are several compounds with the noun *fruit* in them relating to craziness. *Fruit farm* and *fruit factory* refer to mental institutions, and *fruitball*, *fruit head*, *fruitburger*, *fruitcake* as well as *fruit-loop* are all listed in HDAS as terms for 'crazy' or 'eccentric'. The term *fruit-loop* is a pun on the Kellogg's breakfast cereal *Froot Loops*, but interestingly the word *loop*, or *loopy*, as discussed in 4.4, is also a word for crazy.

Besides the connection to *fruitcake* and being *nutty*, there are other possible reasons for why fruits are considered a suitable foodstuff to describe eccentricity. Firstly, fruits are colourful, and similarly eccentric and crazy people are often thought to be 'colourful' (see section 2.1.4 for further references on colours and metaphors). Secondly, fruits either are or eventually will go soft, just like the head of an insane person might. Interestingly, as mentioned earlier in connection with nuts, hardness can also be characteristic of a mad person's head. Finally, there could be a connection between a mad person and the concept of a 'strange fruit' as something odd and perhaps 'not from around here'.

4.4 Tangled

This section concentrates on expressions that feature loops, bends and tangles. The expressions included are *loopy*, *round the bend*, *harpic*, *round the twist* and *crank*.

OED traces *loopy* back to 1925 and nautical slang, and it is defined as 'silly' or 'daft'. OED does not offer an explanation for what *loopy* might refer to, it could, however, be speculated, that the literal sense of the word *loopy* – full of loops – has influenced the figurative meaning. Perhaps a mad person's head is full of loops, which causes their thoughts and actions to become less than straightforward and normal.

As quoted in OED, *F.C. Bowen's Sea Slang* (1929) defines *round the bend*, as “an old naval term for anybody who is mad” (OED s.v. *bend* 10c), and since *bend* is a nautical term for a knot

“used to unite a rope to another, or to something else” (OED s.v. *bend* n.3), it is possible that being *round the bend* refers to having one's head in knots, having a few twists in the mind, or in fact being a little bit *loopy*. ADEE also lists the expression *so far round they're coming back again* and defines it as “insane or eccentric”, this is a modification of *round the bend*. A second modification of the expression *round the bend* is the word *harpic*, which is based on the toilet cleanser of the same name which used the slogan 'clean around the bend'. *Round the twist* seems to follow the same idiom scheme as *round the bend* does, and hence it could be speculated, that it is another modification of the same expression. There appears to be a clear contrast between MADNESS as something loopy and twisty and the idea of 'the straight and narrow' or proper conduct.

The theme of being 'bent' or 'twisted' can also be found in the noun *crank*, which is literally a crook or a bend, but can also be used to refer to “a person with a mental twist; one who is apt to take up eccentric notions or impracticable projects; esp. one who is enthusiastically possessed by a particular crotchet or hobby; an eccentric, a monomaniac” (OED s.v. *crank* n2, 5). What all of this appears to add to the definition of MADNESS is that a seemingly mad person has more twists in their brain, they might take detours, get sidetracked and zigzag through life instead of following a carefully thought out path from point A to point Z, and therefore, metaphorically speaking MADNESS IS NOT STRAIGHT.

4.5 Incomplete

In this section the expressions under analysis seem to suggest that lack of something is the cause of MADNESS. The two subsections are 'missing', which contains *lose one's marbles* and *apartments to let*, and 'short of', which introduces expressions that have something to do with incompleteness: *a shingle short*, *a few bricks short of a load*, *a few sandwiches short of a picnic*, *a few fruit loops shy of a bowl*, *a few pecans short of a fruitcake* as well as *not the full quid*.

4.5.1 Missing

It turns out that *lose one's marbles* (and variations thereof) is quite an interesting expression. In CDS it is defined as “to go mad, to lose control”, (s.v. *lose one's marbles*) and in ADEE as to “become insane” (s.v. *lose their marbles*). According to OED, *marbles* is a colloquial term for “mental faculties; brains; common sense (s.v. *marbles* n.13), with the first recorded instance in a quote from 1902

(13) I see-sawed back and forth between Clara J. and the smoke-holder like a man who is shy some of his marbles (ibid.).

Therefore, *losing one's marbles* would quite simply refer to losing your brains or common sense, and as a result of that, go mad. Yet the main question still remains; where is the connection between mental faculties and marbles?

OED (s.v. *marbles* (etymology)) suggests that the allusion is probably to the game children play using marbles, but it is not entirely clear why this is. In the following quotes a comparison is made to the behaviour of a boy who has lost his actual marbles:

(14) (1886) He has roamed the block all morning like a boy who had lost his marbles (ibid.).

(15) (1892) When he read his father's..letters, he felt more inclined to cry than he had done since he was a little lad and lost a favorite marble (ibid.).

Supporting this explanation, DSJC lists the expression *to let his marbles go with the monkey*, that is “derived from a story of a boy whose marbles were carried off by a monkey”. Based on these examples it could be inferred that feelings of confusion and anger, and perhaps loss of composure are present when one loses their marbles, both literally and figuratively. However, it does seem as if there are two separate explanations here; one where marbles refers to mental faculties and one where marbles refers to actual marbles, hence it seems necessary to search for further explanations.

OED also defines *marbles* as “furniture, movables, personal effects, possessions, goods. Hence also: money, cash; stakes” (s.v. *marbles* n.10) and in DSJC *marbles* is listed as a common

word for furniture or movables (s.v. *marbles*). Judging by these definitions, *losing one's marbles* could be a reference to losing the 'furniture', figurative word for brains, that one has in their head. Interestingly enough, DSJC also lists the expression *apartments to let* as a popular “term used in reference to one who is not overly bright, whose head requires metaphorically some furniture to fill its empty rooms” (s.v. *apartments to let*). A similar reference to an unfurnished head can be found in this quote from 1829:

(16) thinks I to myself, 'if ever I saw lodgings to let, unfurnished, it is in that cocoa-nut, or pumpkin, or gourd of yours (HDAS s.v. *gourd*).

as well as in the definition of the words *garret* and *upper story* in CDVT: “the head. His garret, or upper story, *is empty, or unfurnished*; i.e. has no brains, he is a fool” (s.v. *garret*, italics mine). This would explain why *marbles* also translates as 'brains', and further, how *losing one's marbles* could have anything to do with madness. Overall it seems that the two explanations for *losing one's marbles* are equally plausible, nevertheless the underlying metaphor seems to be MADNESS IS LACK or MADNESS IS EMPTINESS.

4.5.2 Short of

An addition to the list of productive ways of forming idioms for MADNESS is the *X short of Y*-idiom scheme. This indicates that something is not quite full or complete, in this case that *something* is a person's mental capacity. Hence, in addition to eccentricity, this type of expressions can also be used to describe people who are not very intelligent, or in fact idiots. According to OED, the formulation in question originates from Australia or New Zealand, and the earliest recorded expression similar to *X short of Y* is *short of a sheet*, first recorded in 1885.

(17) He had always understood that Rachel Murray was short of a sheet of a bark – the Australian equivalent of “a tile loose” (OED s.v. *short of a*).

However, another phrase closely related to *X short of Y*, *a shingle short*, was recorded even earlier than that, in 1852.

(18) The climate is productive... of chronic diseases rather than acute ones. Let no man having, in colonial phrase, 'a shingle short' try this country. He will pass his days in Tarban Creek Asylum" (ibid.).

A shingle short is also an addition to the expressions related to roofing tiles that were discussed in 4.2.2, and the idea of the head as the roof of a person is also part of this idiom.

The examples that OED lists under *short of a* seem to suggest that there has been a steady stream of *X short of Y* expressions since 1939. Nowadays some of the most common variations of the construction include *a few bricks short of a load* and *a few sandwiches short of a picnic*. It is not uncommon to see words such as *one*, *two*, *three*, *several* or *couple* in place of *a few*, the variations are endless, and owing to the colloquial and casual nature of these idioms – and idioms in general – they most likely are not always recorded even when they are being used in everyday language, this is something that has to be accepted when studying spoken language.

It is interesting to see that some of the *X short of Y* idioms seem to be built around other themes relating to MADNESS. For example *a few fruit loops shy of a full bowl*, featuring *Froot Loops* the breakfast cereal, which, as was discussed in 4.3, is also a synonym for crazy. A further interesting example is *a few pecans short of a fruitcake*, where both *pecans*, or nuts, and *fruitcake* are references to MADNESS. *A few pecans short of a fruitcake* could, however, cause slight confusion, since here the person being insulted is almost a complete fruitcake; since the word *fruitcake* already refers to a person who is not mentally sound, it would seem that if they are a few pecans short of completely bonkers, they might in fact be better off without those pecans. It is of course possible that there are two ways to interpret this expression: either the crazy person in question is missing something, and the lack of those pieces makes them seem crazy, or alternatively, if they did in fact possess those missing pieces, they would be entirely and utterly crazy.

Not the full X is a further idiom scheme based on the idea of something being less than the ideal. OED gives an example of this formulation, *not the full quid* (s.v. *quid*), that, as was the case with *X short of Y*, originated in Australia or New Zealand. The first recorded instance of this phrase

seemed to be in 1944, which makes it about the same age as the *X short of Y* formulation. Both *X short of Y* and *not the full X* appear to be based on the idea of something being less than ideal or missing a few pieces, and thus the metaphors MADNESS IS INCOMPLETENESS and MADNESS IS LACK.

4.6 Animals

In this section expressions that feature animals are under analysis. The assumption seems to be that mad people behave in a way that is closely related to animal behaviour. The expressions included are *barking mad*, *upton park*, *mad as a maggot*, *barmy as a bandicoot*, *mad as a march hare*, *crazy as a loon*, *cuckoo*, *kooky* and *mad as a gumtree full of galahs*.

One of the central themes in idiomatic expressions for insanity, craziness and eccentricity is stereotypical behaviour, insane people are thought to behave in a certain way, and the expressions describe that behaviour in one way or another. Owing to this, these expressions are also rather self-explanatory and hence will not be explained in a very detailed manner.

Barking (mad), as suggested by CDS, is probably a reference to rabid dogs. One of the many definitions for the word 'mad' is “of an animal: abnormally aggressive; spec. (esp. of a dog) suffering from rabies, rabid” (OED s.v. *mad*, adj.1), and presumably rabid dogs bark, hence *barking mad*. This most likely does not mean that mad people bark as well, although I cannot be sure, but somehow their madness brings out the insane animal inside. *Upton park* is a play on the expression *barking mad*. There is an underground station in London called Upton Park, which happens to be located two stops before Barking station, or two stops short of barking, which, incidentally, also follows the *X short of Y* pattern discussed in 4.5.2.

Mad as a maggot and *barmy as a bandicoot* do not offer much information on where the connection between MADNESS and these particular creatures might be grounded. It is entirely possible that there is nothing mad about maggots or bandicoots, but the reason why these expressions exist is the alliterations, repetitions of sounds, which would make these phonological

figures of speech¹⁹. However, in her book *Topsy-Turvy World: How Australian Animals Puzzled Early Explorers*, Kirsty Murray points out that “bandicoots often lived on poor tracts of land”, thence very poor land would be talked about as “land so poor that a bandicoot would starve on it”, owing to this “bandicoot became linked with all sorts of unhappiness”, hence barmy as a bandicoot (Murray 2012, 34).

Mad as a march hare is a reference to the unpredictable behaviour of hares, boxing and jumping for instance, that goes on during mating season. OED dates this expression back to 1529, and provides the quote

(19) as mad not as marche hare, but as a madde dogge (OED s.v. *mad as a march hare*), which incidentally also mentions mad, or rabid dogs.

Birds are also represented among idiomatic expressions for MADNESS. A bird whose “loud cries, maniacal laughter and strange actions” (TTEM s.v. *crazy as a loon*) sound odd enough to qualify as mad is the *loon*, as in *crazy as a loon*. However, the word *loon* itself, without a reference to the bird, can also be defined for example as “a worthless person”, “a clown” or an “ill-bred person” (OED s.v. *loon* n.1). It should also be mentioned that the word *loon* sounds very much like *loony*, which is short for *lunatic*, another word for insanity, which will be discussed in section 4.11.1. Judging by these definitions, it is entirely possible that the word *loon* in *crazy as a loon* does not necessarily refer to the bird.

Continuing with the bird theme, an eccentric person can be called a *cuckoo*. CDS suggests that this term could have some connection to the saying *cuckoo in the nest*, which refers to “an unwelcome intruder in a place or situation. The female cuckoo often lays its eggs in other birds' nests” (ODEI s.v. *cuckoo*) hence making it a rather odd bird. According to OED, the likely connection between craziness and cuckoos is the bird's monotonous call (s.v. *cuckoo* n.3), which presumably somehow characterizes a crazy person. Incidentally, as suggested by OED (s.v. *kook*), the noun *kook*, and thereby also the adjective *kooky*, both words for crazy and eccentric, are derived

¹⁹ See e.g. McArthur (1992 s.v. *figurative language*).

from *cuckoo*. CDS, however, points out that there could also be a connection between *kook* and *kookaburra*, an Australian bird known for its call, that resembles maniacal laughter. Whichever the case, there appears to be a connection between bird calls and mad people.

A final bird-related expression for MADNESS is *mad as a gumtree full of galahs*, which produces a relatively clear mental image of MADNESS when taking into consideration that a *galah* is a pink cockatoo that is very common in Australia and is, as can be expected from a cockatoo, relatively loud and lively. A tree full of pink birds and a cacophony of loud cries is a rather accurate description of a situation that might be described as mad. Incidentally, *galah* is also a slang term for “a fool, a simpleton” (OED. s.v. *galah*, n.2.).

Based on the animal-related examples listed above, it could be stated that MADNESS IS ANIMAL as opposed to human. More precisely, MADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL or perhaps AN ODDLY BEHAVING ANIMAL. Further characteristics that these examples bring to the definition of madness include out of control and aggressive behaviour as well as colourfulness and loudness.

4.7 Uncontrolled

This section discusses the aspect of control – or the lack thereof – as something that can be detected in a mad person. The expressions have been divided into five groups. The first group discusses the expressions *bananas*, *go bananas* and *go ape*, the second group focuses on expressions that refer to unsteadiness: *bonkers*, *dippy* and *dotty*, the third group discusses *screwball* and *off the wall*, both of which deal with unpredictability. The fourth group, 'flip' consists of expressions that follow the idiom scheme “flip one's X” as well as other similar cases: *flip one's lid*, *flip one's wig*, *flip one's beanie*, *flip one's bananas*, *flip out* and *flippy*, and finally, the fifth group where the common denominator is 'madness as rage' includes, *beserko*, *batshit crazy*, *mad as a meataxe*, and *mad as a cut snake*.

4.7.1 Bananas

CDS defines *bananas* as 'crazy' and 'eccentric', but what connects crazy people and this yellow, curved fruit much loved by humans and monkeys alike? *Bananas* is, as mentioned in HDAS, a term perhaps related to *go ape*, a faddish expression during the late 1960's (s.v. *bananas*). FD attempts to explain the origin of the term *bananas* by comparing craziness to the way monkeys in the zoo behave when they

see the keeper approaching with a large bunch of bananas – the favourite tropical fruit of these tropical primates; and they go crazy if their keeper delays in handing out the bananas or if he/she teases them before giving up the goodies. The monkeys' emotions range from pleasure – in the realization that food is on its way – to frustration – over the fact that it is taking so long to get there (FD s.v. *go bananas*).

This explanation also covers the expression *go ape*, which TTEM similarly defined as going mentally wrong, as if “being reduced to animal instincts” (s.v. *go ape*). Returning to *bananas*,

(20) we heard the police broadcast!! They say you're bananas!!

is the first quotation from 1957 (OED s.v. *bananas*), according to OED, *go ape* was first recorded in 1955, hence the connection between *go ape* and *bananas* would be feasible. However, *bananas* does occur earlier than that with a slightly different meaning as demonstrated by example (21).

(21) (1935) *He's bananas*, he's sexually perverted; a degenerate (OED s.v. *bananas*).

Balderdash & Piffle (11 May 2007) reveal that OED does not know where the phrase *go bananas* originally came from. *Balderdash & Piffle* does, however, offer two theories on the origin of the expression. One theory would date *going bananas* to the 1920s. In 1927 Josephine Baker, American-born French Actor and dancer, performed a dance wearing a mini-skirt composed of bananas. Owing to the crazy, wild nature of the dance, one can see the connection between it and *going bananas*. This would, however, perhaps better support the 'sexually perverted' definition exemplified by example (20). The other theory relates *going bananas* to 1947 and the time of rationing when having a banana would be very rare and children would go crazy, *bananas* or perhaps even *ape* when they were given the chance to enjoy one (*Balderdash & Piffle* 2007).

Another story that could have had an impact on the metaphorical meanings of bananas is the “banana apocalypse” in the early part of the 1900s when a fungus began infecting banana plants. By the 1960s the future of the 'big mike' banana was in danger. Koeppel (2008) points out that the banana shortages during this time entered into popular culture and inspired a 1923 song called Yes! We Have No Bananas written by Frank Silver and Irving Cohn. Koeppel (ibid.) mentions that by the early 1900s banana had become the national favourite fruit in America, and slipping on a discarded banana peel was a genuine risk. What we can gather from this is that during the early 1900s there was a real worry that soon there would be no more bananas which could certainly make banana lovers act irrationally. Also, if slipping on a banana peel was a real possibility, the image of someone stepping on a banana peel and thus losing control and falling over in a rather comical way, could possibly have influenced the connection between bananas and craziness.

Other similarities that could account for the craziness of bananas can be found in the shape and texture of the fruit itself. Bananas are bent, and according to CDS *bent* was a mid 19th C word for being intoxicated, and later in 1940's it gained the meaning eccentric (s.v. *bent*), this would also go well with the idea of MADNESS as being NOT STRAIGHT that was discussed in section 4.4. CDS lists the noun *banana* as a 1910+ slang term for a stupid, worthless person (s.v. *banana*), the connection between stupidity and a banana could have something to do with the softness of the fruit and the proverbial soft head of a stupid person.

Balderdash & Piffle points out that “the banana itself is, of course preposterous. Its shape is faintly phallic, its colour is ludicrous and its name sound strangely infantile” (2007), and quite frankly they do have a point, *going bananas* seems to be a lot more fitting way to describe a person going crazy and wild than saying that they are *going apple* or *going satsuma*. From the above analysis it can be gathered that people and fellow primates alike seem to have rather strong feelings towards the fruit in question, and the reason for why bananas equal madness may be a combination of several different aspects. Therefore, *bananas* could potentially fit under several of the metaphors

discussed in the present thesis including MADNESS IS ANIMAL, MADNESS IS UNCONTROLLABILITY and MADNESS IS NOT STRAIGHT.

4.7.2 Unsteady

According to OED, the origin of the word *bonkers* is unknown, nevertheless it is a word one can use to describe mad people. The first recorded instance of this term is from 1945 as demonstrated by example (22).

(22) If we do that often enough, we won't lose contact with things and we won't go 'bonkers' (OED s.v. *bonkers*).

CDS lists *bonkers* as a word for “stupid, insane and eccentric”(s.v. *bonkers*), but DSUE defines it as “slightly drunk, light-headed”, and claims it to be a term from circa 1920 (DSUE s.v. *Bonkers*). The suggested origin for this 'drunk' meaning of the word is *bonk* “to hit resoundingly” (DSUE s.v. *bonk* v.2), this would mean that a person who is *bonkers* is mad because they have suffered a blow to the head. Since, according to DSUE, *bonkers* originally meant 'slightly drunk', it should not be ruled out that this reference to drunkenness, and presumably the effects thereof, could have motivated the further meanings of *bonkers*.

Dippy is another example of a term whose origin is unclear, but, as with *bonkers*, a reference to drunkenness cannot be ruled out. DSUE defines *dippy* as “extremely eccentric or foolish; mad” (s.v. *dippy*), and suggests a connection to *dipso*, which in turn is an abbreviation of *dipsomaniac* “a confirmed drunkard” (DSUE s.v. *dipso*). According to CDS, however, *dippy*, or *dipsy* is based on the “image of a head not screwed on” (s.v. *dippy*), a head that keeps dipping, this would indicate brokenness or faultiness, this is also supported by OED that also mentions that the verb *dip* might be behind this expression, and gives an example from 1903:

(23) Her desolateness appeared to touch a hidden, sympathetic chord in my nature. Whatever the cause, I was dippy for fair (OED s.v. *dippy*).

This gives two possibilities, either MADNESS is connected to drunkenness, or lack of stability and

control, which incidentally could also be caused by drunkenness.

Literally, the word *dotty* means “of unsteady, uneven or feeble gait, as from stiffness or lameness”, and figuratively “feeble in the mind” (OED s.v. *dotty* adj.2) or “eccentric, odd” (CDS s.v. *dotty*). OED offers a quote from sometime in the 1400s:

(24) Ale mak many a mane to have a doty poll (OED s.v. *dotty*),

which features the adjective *dotty*. Now, OED also lists the noun *doddypoll*, which is defined as “a stupid person; blockhead, fool” (OED s.v. *doddypoll*). Considering that in example (24), *dotty*, or *doty*, appears along with the word *poll*, “doty poll”, these two expressions could be connected. OED suggests that *doddypoll* might be based on the verb *dote*, “to be silly, deranged, or out of one's wits; to act or talk foolishly or stupidly” (s.v. *dote*, v), with the first example from circa 1225:

(25) Hu nu, dame, dotestu?

Or alternatively “to be weak-minded from old age; to have the intellect impaired by reason of age” (OED s.v. *dote*, v.). From this it can be gathered that perhaps the origin of *dotty*, as in eccentric, is not *dotty*, as in unsteady or feeble gait, but instead the verb *dote*.

Despite that fact that the origins of *bonkers*, *dippy* and *dotty* are rather unclear, based on the possible origins of said expressions it could be gathered that there is a connection between the unsteady, uncontrolled movements of a drunken person and the behaviour of someone who is mad. In addition to that, the theme of brokenness, or suffering a blow to the head, and faultiness, or the image of a head that is not screwed on, could be found in the three expressions under analysis.

4.7.3 Unpredictable

Lack of control is also reflected in the expressions *off the wall* and *screwball*, both of which can be defined as 'eccentric' and both supposedly have their origins in ball games. *Off the wall* is based on games such as squash, where balls bounce off the wall in a rather unpredictable manner (TTEM s.v. *off the wall*), therefore it can be said that eccentricity is unpredictability.

According to TTEM, in baseball a *screwball* is a “ball pitched with reverse spin against the natural curve of flight” (s.v. *screwball*). An eccentric person figuratively spins against the natural curve of things and therefore can be called a screwball. It is possible that a screwball is also a pitch that the batter might not expect, if so, it could be implied that a *screwball*, or an eccentric person is unpredictable.

4.7.4 Flip

CDS defines *flip one's lid* and *flip one's wig* as “to go crazy” and “to lose one's sanity”, respectively. *Flip one's lid* and variations thereof can also be used to refer to anger, and according to Lakoff and Kövecses (1987, 2000), this expression is based on the mental image of a strong emotion, such as anger, building up inside a person in a pressure-like manner resulting in an explosion – flip of the lid – which, in turn, symbolizes loss of control. From this it can be gathered that MADNESS can be characterized as uncontrollability. Perhaps because of the expression *flip one's lid*, the verb *flip* can also be defined figuratively as to “lose control, to get over excited” (CDS s.v. *flip*, v.). Further expressions that are based on the idea of flipping include *flip one's beanie* and *flip one's bananas* as well as *flip out* and *flippy*. In addition to *flip*, the verb *blow* is a common alternative to include in the idiom scheme *flip one's X*, resulting in expressions such as *blow one's lid* or *blow one's stack*.

4.7.5 Rage

Beserko, which CDS defines as “unstable or eccentric person” (s.v. *beserko*), has its origins in the term *berserk*. According to OED, *berserk* is an Icelandic word for a 'bear coat', and perhaps relating to this, berserk is also a “wild Norse warrior of great strength and ferocious courage, who fought on the battle-field with a frenzied fury known as the ‘berserker rage’; often a lawless bravo or freebooter” (OED s.v. *berserk*). From this it follows that the word *berserk* is an adjective for “frenzied, furiously or madly violent”, like a wild, Norse warrior. What then connects *beserko*, an

unstable or eccentric person, to 'berserk rage' is the fact a person going *berserk* is perhaps rather unstable, as a mad person might be, moreover, violent behaviour is commonly seen as a form of insanity. Rage and instability is also reflected in the expression *batshit crazy*, which is an interesting combination of the expressions *bats in the belfry* and *go apeshit*, mixing the two metaphors of MADNESS IS CHAOS, or LACK OF BRAINS and MADNESS IS ANIMAL, and resulting in a fusion of craziness and animal rage.

As explained in sections 2.2.2 and 3.1, anger is also among the definitions for madness, and since this part discusses rage, it ought to be mentioned that similes with the word *mad* in them are not always defined as crazy, they can also refer to madness as in anger. This theme of madness as anger or violent rage can be found in the simile *mad as a meat axe* that CDS defines as “very angry” or “completely insane” (s.v. *mad as a meat axe*) or *mad as a cut snake*, “completely deranged, utterly furious (CDS s.v. *mad as a cut snake*). As was discussed in section 2.2.2, the connection between madness and anger is metaphorical, with the metaphor ANGER IS INSANITY serving as a basis.

4.8 Absence

The idea of MADNESS manifesting itself as absence is discussed in this section. The expressions analyzed are *out to lunch*, *away with the fairies*, *over the rainbow* and *gone fishing*. If, as quoted at the beginning of the present thesis, MADNESS is a place, then the following expressions perhaps support that definition.

The idea of not being entirely present can be found in the expression *out to lunch*, which is defined in CDS as “crazy, eccentric, weird” (s.v. *out to lunch*). An OED quote suggests that this expression

(26) refers to someone who, in other years, just wasn't “there”—and he is told immediately to “Get with it!” (OED s.v. *out to lunch*)

the physical body might be present, but the mind has wandered off to the nearby café and is now

enjoying a delectable lunch.

A second example of an expression for MADNESS that insinuates absence is *away with the fairies*. ODEI suggests that being (away) *with the fairies* gives an “impression of being mad, distracted, or in a dreamworld” (s.v. *fairy*), and ADEE gives the definitions “daydreaming” and “absent-minded” (s.v. *away with the fairies*). According to old Irish superstitions “an Irish fairy sometimes takes people that seem to die or disappear to live in a fairy palace” (Ogden), an example of this use of *away with the fairies* can be found in a 1909 issue of *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*:

(27) Bridget Bailey said that Michael had made the same remark to her, by which she understood that her brother was away with the fairies, and that it was not he who was lying there (Otautau 1909).

There does not seem to be any reason to believe that this was not the origin of the current use of *away with the fairies*, and based on the above evidence it can be gathered that a mad person is floating in a fairy palace somewhere, in a place where they cannot be reached. They are not facing reality, their ideas are not from this world, or they are simply not present.

Further examples of absence can be spotted in the previously mentioned Pink Floyd song “the Trial”.

(28) Crazy, toys in the attic I am crazy,
Truly *gone fishing*
They must have taken my marbles away
(Crazy, toys in the attic he's crazy)

Crazy,
Over the rainbow, I am crazy,
Bars in the window.
There must have been a door there in the wall when I came in.
(Crazy, *over the rainbow*, he is crazy)
(Waters & Ezrin 1979).

Both *gone fishing* and *over the rainbow* can be seen as references to being in a different place or in fact being absent. *Gone fishing* connects quite nicely to the expression *out to lunch*, indicating that a person cannot be reached at the moment. Furthermore, *gone fishing* includes a piece of conventional

knowledge relating to the practice of going fishing when in need of a little break from everyday life. Hence, when a person is mentally absent, they might as well stick a post-it note on their forehead that reads *gone fishing*. When it comes to being over the rainbow, according to ODPF, a rainbow can be “a sign of something distant and (perhaps) unattainable, as in the song ‘Over the Rainbow’ (1939) by E. Y. (‘Yip’) Harburg” (s.v. *rainbow*), or as ODRS suggests, *over the rainbow* is “used when referring to a faraway or ideal place” (s.v. *over the rainbow*), without forgetting the reference to the pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

All the examples discussed in this section appear to require a certain degree of cultural or conventional knowledge to be understood. However, the underlying theme common to all four examples is that MADNESS IS ABSENCE.

4.9 Imbalance

In this section the expressions analyzed follow the idiom scheme *off X*, and they all deal with some kind of disturbance in the general flow or balance of things, something is wrong, not where it is supposed to be. It should also be mentioned that these expression could easily be confused with the plethora of *off one's X* expressions discussed in part 4.1.3 where the *X* is a word denoting a person's head. The expressions discussed in this section are: *off one's base*, *off one's rocker*, *off one's trolley*, *off the rails* and *off the hooks*.

According to CDS *off one's base* is a phrase that has its origins in baseball. OED defines *off base* as a baseball term for literally being “away from a base, and therefore in a position to be put out” (OED s.v. *off base*), hence the reason why *off one's base* is an expression for 'insane' or 'crazy' has most likely something to do with not being where you are supposed to be, being vulnerable, or momentarily throwing the figurative game of life off balance.

In the expression *off one's rocker* the *rocker* is presumably a rocking chair, but what is it about being off your rocker that makes you seem mad? This could well be a reference to the group

of people most commonly seen sitting on rocking chairs also known as demented senior citizens, and their tendency of being up to no good when they are not sitting on their beloved rocking chairs. *Off one's rocker* is listed in the 1889 edition of DSJC, defined as a popular saying for 'crazy' or 'mad' (DSJC s.v. *off one's rocker*). This, however, is not the only expression for MADNESS featuring rocking of some kind. DSJC also lists *half-rocked* and *had a rock too much* as terms for 'half-witted', in addition DSCE defines *half-rocked* as “half-witted” or “silly”, and suggests that this definition is based on there being a “West Country saying that all idiots are nursed bottom upwards” (DSCE s.v. *half-rocked*). Continuing with rocking, CDVT lists *rocked*, and gives the definitions “he was rocked in a stone kitchen; a saying meant to convey the idea that the person spoken of is a fool, his brains having been disordered by the jumbling of his cradle”, moreover, DSCE defines *rocky*, *rocked* or *rocketty* as “broken: by drink, illness, poverty” and “difficult, dubious, debatable” hence; *to go rocky* is “to go to pieces, go wrong” whence *rockiness* is defined as “craziness” (DSCE s.v. *rocky*). Furthermore, DSJC defines the verb *to rocker* as “to understand”. Based on all these definitions it is rather difficult to say where exactly the expression *off one's rocker* might have originated. Perhaps it refers to a senile person being off their rocking chair, which is probably how the saying in question is currently understood, or to a person who still suffers from being rocked too fast in their cradle or perhaps has encountered jumbling of the brain at some other point during their lifetime. Whichever the true origin, the basic idea of being thrown off balance or something being in the wrong place still seems to be the metaphor behind the expression.

CDS suggests that *off one's trolley* is a reference to trolley-cars and in particular the “Manhattan trolleys, which were not allowed overhead cables...[they] picked up their supply from an electrified third rail and so if the car became derailed, its power was lost” (s.v. *off one's trolley*). OED lists a quote from 1896 as the first recorded instance of this phrase

(29) Any one that's got his head full o' the girl proposition's liable to go off his trolley at the first curve (s.v. *trolley*, 2b).

Again, this would insinuate a change in the correct balance of things. However, it seems to me that

rather than the trolley being derailed, *off one's trolley* refers to a person, in this case the mad person, being off a trolley, therefore, this expression could also be connected to one's 'train of thought' and one falling off it when the thought process gets too tangled. This, in turn, would be connected to the loopiness of the mad brain that was discussed in part 4.4. Whichever the case, the general idea seems to be that this person is not going where they are supposed to be going, and for that reason seem rather odd.

Another example of a train related phrase is *go off the rails*, which could perhaps also be explained with the idea of the train of thought. According to BDPF *go off the rails* means to “behave abnormally, to go crazy”, and ADEE gives the definition “insane” for the expression *off the rails*. OED defines it as “out of the proper or normal condition, off the usual or expected course” (s.v. *off the rails*), and under the same definition gives an example from 1886

(30) a sane, healthy, waking mind can really get momentarily off the rails
which rather clearly insinuates that once the train we call a healthy mind derails, a
person can begin to function in a way that is not normal.

Yet again the theme of being thrown off balance is central.

Off the hooks, defined by CDS as 'crazy' or 'eccentric', shall serve as the final example of MADNESS as being *off* something. CDS suggests that this could be based on the term *unhinged*, which is defined as “thrown into confusion”(OED s.v. *unhinged*). The origin of both of these expressions appears be a door that has been taken off the hinges, or hooks, and is no longer in use. Furthermore, to support this explanation OED also defines *off the hooks* as “out of proper condition; out of order; ‘in a bad way’” (OED s.v. *off the hooks*).

In general it could be said that when one is *off* their something, they are not where they are supposed to be, they are momentarily off the right track, the equilibrium has been disturbed, and from these it follows, that MADNESS IS IMBALANCE.

A further interesting word that could also be included under the discussing on imbalance is *eccentric*. As has been established, an eccentric person is often seen as being mildly insane or, as

the OED defines it, “of persons and personal attributes: Deviating from usual methods, odd, whimsical” (s.v. *eccentric*, adj.6b). It is used to refer to people only in its figurative sense, but literally, when denoting axes, eccentric can be defined as “not centrally placed. Of an axis, etc.: Not passing through the centre” (s.v. *eccentric*, adj.3a). In spite of the fact that this does not apply to people, it could be regarded as a basis for the figurative meaning: if normal is seen as straight and narrow, an eccentric person is one that gets sidetracked.

4.10 Absurd

This section consists of expressions that give MADNESS the quality of being absurd. The expressions included are: *queer in the attic*, *queer in the garret*, *queer as Dick's hatband*, *queer as a clockwork orange*, *silly as a two-bob watch* and *queer as a three-dollar bill*. As can be seen, similes are well represented in this group.

When discussing craziness or eccentricity, the word *queer* should be addressed. OED defines *queer* as strange, odd, peculiar or eccentric. The origin of *queer* is uncertain, but it is suggested that it might come from the German word *quer*, meaning “transverse”, “crosswise”, “at right angles”, or of opinion and behaviour, “at odds with others” (OED s.v. *queer*). Based on this account of the supposed origin of the word *queer*, it seems that *queer* or eccentric people are not going to the same direction as normal people, they are, so to say, at right angles. Another current definition links *queer* with homosexuality which perhaps also highlights the aspects of being at odds with the norm.

Moving on to idiomatic expressions featuring the word *queer*, *queer in the attic* or *queer in the garret* are perhaps some of the simplest ones to explain. *Attic* and *garret* are both synonyms for the head, with the figurative meaning naturally based on the fact that both attic and garret are rooms “on the uppermost floor of a house” (OED s.v. *garret*). Hence, being *queer in the attic* is to have something odd going on in one's head, which, as has been suggested, is where MADNESS generally is located.

The simile construction (*as*) *X as Y* is relatively common when it comes to expressions for MADNESS. A person is compared to something that associates them with an entity that can be perceived as mad or strange. Sometimes the comparisons are relatively straightforward, but there are also cases that require some explaining. As an example of such case, and also as an example of how these analogies might be interpreted, the perhaps not so common simile *queer as Dick's hatband* will be analyzed. According to BDPF, the *Dick* in this phrase was thought to be Richard Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. The hatband would then be Richard's crown. Apparently “few things have been more ridiculous than the exaltation and abdication of the Protector’s son” (BDPF s.v. *Dick's hatband*). This would be a neat explanation, but maybe too good to be true, BDPF mentions that the saying occurred after Cromwell's time, and Richard Cromwell never actually wore a crown (ibid.). The earliest mention of this expression can be found in the 1788 edition of CDVT, where it is defined as “out of order or sorts, not knowing why” (s.v. *queer as dick's hatband*), which is slightly different from the later definitions 'odd' or 'eccentric' (CDS s.v. *queer as Dick's hatband*). Under *Dick's hatband* WDP lists a quote from Robert Southey's *the Doctor*:

(31) who was that other Dick who wore so queer a hat-band that it has ever since served as a standing comparison for all queer things?

This clearly suggests that Dick's hatband was strange indeed, and in the 1854 edition of the *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases* under *Dick's-hatband* it is stated that

'As queer as dick's hatband, made of pea-straw, that went nine times round and would not meet at last.' This singular phrase, slightly varying in form and application, appears to be widely circulated, and has travelled even to the united states, for it has found a place amongst Bartlett's Americanisms. Wilbraham gives, “As fine as Dick's-Hatband,” and Hartshorne, “As curst as Dick's-hatband;” we alone define the substance of which this hat-band was composed; and which, being a queer material for such a purpose, may probably have originated this queer comparison, for anything particularly odd or strange.

CDS suggests that Dick was probably “some local character or half-wit with an absurd hatband” (s.v. *queer as Dick's hatband*), and OED hazards a guess that he “was some local character or

simpleton whose droll sayings were repeated” (s.v. *hatband*), and these are probably the best descriptions of Dick that can be found. Therefore it can be concluded, that *queer as Dick's hatband* refers to something very strange and abnormal, whatever it might be.

What *queer as Dick's hatband* offers to the discussion is that the entities that mad people are compared to can be utterly senseless, peculiar and absurd. Further examples of this type of absurd MADNESS are *queer as a clockwork orange*, *queer as a three-dollar bill*, and *silly as a two-bob watch*, all of which feature analogies to things that do not exist. Alternatively, as with *silly as a two-bob watch*, the comparison could be made to something that is, well, silly. *Two-bob* originally refers to the sum of two shillings, but as an adjective it is used to denote something that is very cheap. Of course the monetary value of an object does not always reflect the quality, but in this case, a ridiculously cheap, two-bob watch is something that most likely would not be very reliable. Based on the above analysis it can be concluded that MADNESS IS ABSURD. Since *queer* is nowadays mostly associated with homosexuality, newer similes with the word *queer* in them are usually references to ostentatiously homosexual men, not madness or oddness.

4.11 Clinically insane

This section introduces three groups of expressions that are in one way or another related to people who are insane in the medical sense, as opposed to the jocular sense. The first group consists of cases that are based on old medical diagnoses, and they include *lunatic*, *have a moon-flaw in the brain*, and *go troppo*, the second group, *basket case*, *mad as a weaver*, and *mad as a hatter*, makes a connection between a certain occupation or activity and madness, and finally, the third group contains expressions that describe how a clinically insane person might stereotypically behave, exemplified by *up the wall*, *up the pole*, *butterfly case* and *stands on his head*.

4.11.1 Medical

Originally the term *lunatic*, or *loony* for short, was a medical term used to describe people “affected with the kind of insanity that was supposed to have recurring periods dependent on the changes of the moon” (OED s.v. *lunatic*, adj. n.1a), as in this example from 1290:

(32) He hadde ane douȝter þat was lunatyke (ibid.).

BDPH explains that “the Romans believed that the mind was affected by the moon and that lunatics grew more and more frenzied as the moon increased to its full” (s.v. *lunatic*). The expression *to have a moon-flaw in the brain* is likewise based on the moon's influence on people, according to OED, *a moon-flaw* was “a disability attributed to the moon's influence” (s.v. *moon-flaw*). A further modification of *lunatic*, *loony-tune*, is also a play on the name of the cartoon series Looney Tunes.

Another example of the medical theme is *to go troppo*, OED defines *troppo* as being “mentally ill after spending too much time (orig. on war service) in the tropics; (hence simply) crazy, mad” (s.v. *troppo*), the expression *to go troppo* dates from the 1940s. The tropic is associated with heat, jungle and plants, colourful fruits, animals, and flowers, the images of the tropic alone can make one slightly crazy, and apparently spending time in the tropics does cause mental illness. It is possible to observe this type of madness on days when the temperature rises very high, people tend to behave strangely in this type of conditions, hot weather makes people go crazy. Rather than being products of a conceptual metaphor, these examples of old medical diagnoses would probably fit better under expressions that are motivated by conventional or cultural knowledge.

4.11.2 Occupations/ activities

Basket case is an expression that, according to CDS, originated in World War I, and it was used to refer to people who had lost all their limbs and had to be carried around in baskets. Therefore, a basket case is someone who is unable to cope on their own. It, however, cannot be proven that such basket cases would ever have existed, or it is more likely that the baskets were in fact stretchers, as

the below quote by Laws suggests. The definition of *basket case* that is central to this thesis, “one who behaves in a notably eccentric manner” (CDS s.v. *basket case*), could either be a reference to a person's inability to cope or possibly to the fact that institutionalized mental patients can be associated with the practice of basket weaving. In her study on occupational therapy Laws states:

In the broader socio-economic conditions of the 1940s and the 1950s, crafts themselves had also lost authenticity as sustainable ways to make a living. As handicrafts in the outside world became relegated to hobbies and pastimes ... the allocation of craft activities to psychiatric patients became synonymous with limitation and despair. Basket-weaving – traditionally a respected skill – became the stigmatized pursuit of asylum inmates. The derogatory term 'basket-case', used originally in the First World War to describe quadruple amputees who were carried home on 'basket' stretchers, found a new target amid the basket-weavers of OT [occupational therapy] – in time coming to signify 'hopeless cases' and 'crazies' more generally (Laws 2011, 74 – 75).

Based on this the expression *basket case* would literally refer to a mental patient who spends their time weaving baskets.

It is pointed out in CDS that *mad as a weaver* is likewise based on proverbial wisdom that associates weaving and insanity. Since OED gives an example of the phrase from 1609:

(33) If he were as madde as a weauer (*OED* s.v. *mad as a weaver*),

it seems clear that the association is not very current. Laws (Laws 2011, 67, quoting Applebaum, 1992) mentions that “records as early as the 3rd century AD have evidenced supervised occupations such as basket- and mat-weaving being offered to pauper lunatics in the monasteries”. It seems that, as was with *basket case*, *mad as a weaver* might be a reference to actual mental patients practising weaving as a form of therapy, pastime activity or as their occupation.

The simile *mad as a hatter* stems from actual hat makers, who in the 1800s were exposed to a mercury solution that, when accumulated in the hatters' bodies, resulted in “hatter's shakes” which, as quoted by Ryan (2010), manifested itself as “excessive timidity, diffidence, increasing shyness, loss of self confidence, anxiety and a desire to remain unobserved and unobtrusive”. At the time people were not aware of the side effects of mercury, and it was thought that hat makers were simply insane. OED dates this expression back to 1829:

(34) (aside to Shepherd.) He's raving. Shepherd (to Tickler.) Dementit. [sic] Odoherty (to both.) Mad as a hatter. Hand me a segar (OED s.v. *mad as a hatter*).

Now, upon hearing the simile *mad as a hatter*, Lewis Carroll's character *Hatter* from *Alice in Wonderland* is probably what the expression would most often be associated with, after all, Hatter is a rather eccentric character. The above symptoms of 'hatter's shakes', however, hardly describe the rather bizarre Hatter, in addition, it is mentioned in BDPF (s.v. *mad as a hatter*) that Carroll in fact did not base the Hatter on an actual hatter with a case of the 'shakes', but on a man called Theophilus Carter, a furniture dealer who was also known as 'mad hatter'. Moreover, it is mentioned in BDPF that the simile *mad as a hatter* was popularized by *Alice in Wonderland*, and owing to this it is probable that the characteristics of someone described as being *mad as a hatter* are in fact those of Carroll's Hatter, not of an actual hatter.

4.11.3 Behaviour

Behaviour typical of insane people can, perhaps unsurprisingly, be the inspiration behind idiomatic expressions for insanity. According to the TTEM, when someone is *up the wall* they are going mad because supposedly people who are on the verge of insanity seem to be climbing up walls (s.v. *up the wall*). The same could be said about *up the pole*, where, instead of a wall, a mad person is climbing up a pole of some sort. These could also be considered as examples of insane people being high or off the ground, as opposed to having their feet firmly on the ground, which is a common orientational metaphor for being sane and realistic. TTEM suggests that the expression *butterfly case* is based on behaviour as well, that is, the belief that insane people chase butterflies (s.v. *butterfly case*). *Stands on his head* could also be mentioned among expressions relating to behaviour, not for the reason that insane people actually would stand on their head, but because if normal is the right way up, then the opposite, the wrong way up, has to be abnormal and mad.

As all the examples discussed in section 4.11 have demonstrated, the relationship between an expression and its meaning can also be an analogy, connecting conventional knowledge

regarding clinically insane people to people who we now jocularly call mad.

5. Discussion

In this section the results of the analysis will be discussed. Owing to the fact that opposites go hand in hand, in addition to MADNESS, a discussion on the possible characteristics of SANITY has also been included. This section has been divided into two subsections, allowing separate parts for MADNESS and SANITY. Under the subheading 5.1, 'MADNESS', the conceptual metaphors, metonymies, conventional knowledge, and other motivations associated with the idiomatic expressions analyzed will be discussed. The discussion follows the same pattern as the analysis, proceeding from the location of madness to causes, symptoms, and finally impressions. In part 5.2, 'SANITY', some of the characteristics of sanity will be discussed based on the definition of madness, followed by a comparison to the definition of *a normal* that was provided earlier in the introduction.

5.1 MADNESS

Location

The analysis of idiomatic expressions for MADNESS, or 'insane', 'crazy', and 'eccentric' to be more specific, has revealed that the expressions can be motivated by different metaphors as well as conventional knowledge and metonymy.

A large number of the expressions studied feature a reference to the human head. 31 of them are most likely head-related, and 14 cases are possibly head-related, all in all that makes 45 out of 100 expressions (indicated in table X in the appendix). As the data analyzed in this thesis is not an exhaustive list of expressions, it would not make sense to quantify the results any further. The connection to the human head is there either owing to the metonymy HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON, or to the fact that insanity is indeed a disease of the brain, and therefore the source of madness. Examples of such cases include *bats in the belfry*, *off one's nut*, *crackbrained*, *have a slate*

loose, flip one's lid, queer in the attic.

The words used to refer to the head, *belfry* and *nut* for example, are often based on either the head being located at the top of the person, or on the similarity between the head and a chosen entity, say a nut or a pumpkin for instance. Further possible head-related associations could be found in expressions featuring fruit, nuts, and barm, with reference to the softness, hardness, or the overall texture of the head. In her study on stupidity, Allan (2006, 179) mentions that “if something is dense in its physical texture, it will be hard to penetrate”, hence ideas and knowledge will not be able to get through.

When discussing the motivation behind metaphors (see 2.1.7), it was mentioned that certain basic or ontological metaphors can induce the perception of similarity between two entities (Kövecses 2002, 73 – 74). Some such metaphors, as well as similar basic ideas, were found among head or mind related expressions for MADNESS, giving the head or the mind characteristics that help us describe their different aspects (see table 3). With the idiom *a kangaroo loose in the top paddock*, for example, the basic idea THE HEAD IS A SPACE must exist. Similarly, it was suggested that *barmy* refers to having a head full of foam, therefore, the head must be a CONTAINER. Incidentally, in the expression *barmpot* the reference is rather direct: the head is a pot full of barm. In addition to seeing the head as a SPACE, an analogous link is made between the head, and various spaces that lie on top of something, an attic on top of a house, for example. This gives the human body the status of a BUILDING with an upstairs and a downstairs. Furthermore, this idea of the body as a building and the head as a space provides a basis for the idioms following the scheme *off one's X*. in order for someone to be *out* of their head, being *in* the head must also be a possibility, hence it must be assumed that the head is a space that one can step out of.

Table 3. Location of MADNESS

Expression	Metaphor	Assumptions
A kangaroo loose in the top paddock	CHAOS	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
Rats in the upper story	CHAOS	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
Have a rat	CHAOS	
Have maggots in one's head	CHAOS	HEAD IS A SPACE
Have bats in one's belfry	CHAOS	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
Toys in the attic	CHAOS	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
Barmy/ Balmy	CHAOS, LACK (of brains)	HEAD IS A SPACE
Barmpot	CHAOS, LACK (of brains)	HEAD IS A SPACE
Off one's head	IRRATIONALITY, ABSENCE	HEAD IS A SPACE
Off one's onion	IRRATIONALITY, ABSENCE	HEAD IS A SPACE
Off one's nut	IRRATIONALITY, ABSENCE	HEAD IS A SPACE

Cause

Many of the expressions appear to be inspired by the various causes of MADNESS that are often related to the head or the brain, further playing with the ontological metaphors THE HEAD IS A SPACE and THE BODY IS A BUILDING. MADNESS can for example be seen as a state of chaos in the head, as in *bats in the belfry* or *a kangaroo loose in the top paddock*. In addition to chaos, the idea could be that there is something foreign, barm or toys for example, occupying the space where rational thinking ought to take place. With *toys in the attic* it could also be speculated that in place of a real, functioning brain, a mad person has a collection of toys that merely imitate the real thing.

In addition to chaos, brokenness was among the possible causes. One's head or brain could be *cracked*, perhaps fragile, or on the verge of crumbling. These examples add to the ontological metaphor MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT, giving the mind as an object a strength of some kind. Other faults such as loose screws (*have a screw loose*) or tiles (*have a tile loose*) were also among the possible causes of MADNESS. With the idiom *have a screw loose* a connection could be made to the ontological metaphor MIND IS A MACHINE. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 27 – 29) point out that the machine metaphor makes it possible to discuss “the mind as having an on-off state, an internal

mechanism, some source of energy, and an operating condition”. Clearly, a mad mind is a machine in need of maintenance. Furthermore, MIND IS A MACHINE adds a machine room, most likely located upstairs in the head-space, to the BODY IS A BUILDING -metaphor.

A further example of something that causes MADNESS is having a mind that is full of twists, turns and tangles (*round the bend, crank*), hence, MADNESS IS NOT STRAIGHT. This type of loopiness could hinder or complicate thought processes, perhaps causing a person to get sidetracked, fall off their train of thought, or perhaps make it impossible for them to think straight. The idea of MADNESS as NOT STRAIGHT is based on the conventional idea that NORMAL IS STRAIGHT, which, according to Cienki (1998), is part of the image schema²⁰ STRAIGHT. Cienki suggests that we think of, for example, plain and pure things, logical thought, order, correctness, seriousness, normality, and conventionality as being straight (1998, 120 – 128). These are based on our physical experiences of straightness in the form of, for example, straight lines as being regular, orderly, and symmetric, as opposed to the asymmetry and irregularity of something that is bent or twisted (Cienki 1998, 110 – 111). Cienki points out that “it is much harder to agree on what a 'standard bent form' is than it is to agree on what a straight line looks like”, hence, “asymmetric objects (such as those that are bent, twisted, warped etc.) are understood to have been affected (and effected) by a previous imposition and transfer of energy” (1998, 113). Asymmetric, irregular objects have undergone a change, they are a deviation from the original, straight, and normal form. Based on this it is easier to understand why it is that we see illogical thought, unconventionality, socially unacceptable behaviour, and indeed insanity or MADNESS, as NOT STRAIGHT. The idea of straightness as order, order as normal, and therefore, disorder as not normal, can also be found in the expressions featuring a chaotic situation (*e.g. kangaroo loose in the top paddock*) or in the expression *fruitcake*, where the gallimaufry of fruit and nuts a fruitcake contains can be seen as a reflection of the inner mess and disorder of a mad person.

20 “An image schema is a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience” (Johnson 1987, xiv).

The final causes of MADNESS found among the expressions analyzed were those of lack, incompleteness or emptiness. A mad person is perceived as lacking something, perhaps the furniture that is supposed to be inside the head-space in their building of a body (*apartments to let*), or another possibility is that the roof of the building is missing a shingle (*a shingle short*), possibly causing a small leakage, hence affecting the overall condition of the building. The incompleteness aspect is also reflected in for example *a few bricks short of a load*, where unity is seen as the ideal state, and those few missing bricks have made that state less than ideal, or mad, perhaps slightly stupid. In addition to unity, the concept of balance could be seen as a theme here. When something is incomplete, it is not balanced, the equilibrium has been disrupted.

All of the metaphors above, MADNESS IS CHAOS, MADNESS IS BROKENNESS, MADNESS IS NOT STRAIGHT, and MADNESS IS LACK appear to be based on a perceived similarity between a situation that is not ideal, and madness. Moreover, a connection could be made between physical brokenness, for example a broken leg and the handicap it causes, and mental brokenness and the results thereof. Now, it should also be taken into consideration that actual mental disorders are often caused by abnormalities in the brain, be it chemical imbalances, physical injuries, or something else. They are rarely imaginary, and consequently metaphors of brokenness or imbalance could be seen as actual brokenness.

Table 4, Cause of MADNESS

Expression	Metaphor	Metonymy	Assumptions
Cracked	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Crackbrained	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Cracked in the filbert	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Crackpot	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Cracked as a broken pot	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Crackers	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Have a screw loose	FAULTY		MIND IS A MACHINE
Have a button loose	FAULTY		
Have a tile loose	FAULTY		BODY IS A BUILDING
Have a slate loose	FAULTY		BODY IS A BUILDING
Loose in the bean	FAULTY		
Loose up top	FAULTY		
Nut	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nutty	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nuts	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nutcase	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nuts-and-bolts	BROKENNESS	HEAD STANDS FOR PERSON	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nutty as a fruitcake	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nutty as a walnut tree	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Nutty as a pecan grove	BROKENNESS		MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

Table 4, Cause of MADNESS, cont.

Expression	Metaphor	Based on (expand the title)
Fruitcake	CHAOS, BROKENNESS	MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT
Fruity		
Fruitloop	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Loopy	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Round the bend	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Harpic	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Round the twist	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Crank	NOT STRAIGHT	STRAIGHT
Lose one's marbles	LACK	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
Apartments to let	LACK	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING
A shingle short	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE
A few bricks short of a load	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE
A few sandwiches short of a picnic	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE
A few fruitloops shy of a bowl	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE
A few pecans short of a fruitcake	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE
Not the full quid	INCOMPLETENESS	UNITY, BALANCE

Symptoms

The third aspect to be discussed is the symptoms of MADNESS. As is the case with emotions (see part 2.2.2), behavioural effects associated with madness can stand for MADNESS. However, while with emotions the physiological effects, body heat, redness in the face, and elevated heart rate, for example, are highlighted, they do not seem to be part of the metaphors for MADNESS. In general it seems that wildness and lack of control are the main themes among the behaviour-related expressions, with animal-like behaviour or animal instincts taking over among the possible symptoms. Since there are a number of expressions that feature animals, it appears to be the case that animal behaviour depicts insanity rather well, however, not all animal-like behaviour will do, *mad as a mouse* or *mad as an armadillo* may not create such mental images that might make one think of someone as being truly mad. Rather, dangerous animals (*barking mad*), or oddly behaving animals (*mad as a march hare*) suit the purpose better. The fact that animals are included in the expressions for MADNESS was not much of a surprise considering the metaphor PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON (see part 2.2.2), or, as Kövecses points out, “much of human behavior seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of animal”, ultimately, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (2002, 124). The chosen animal along with the context should paint a vivid enough picture for the hearer to understand what type of behaviour the speaker is trying to describe. When it comes to MADNESS, loudness (*mad as a gumtree full of galahs*), unpredictable behaviour (*mad as a march hare*), as well as aggression (*barking mad*) are seen as some of the characteristics that certain animals and humans have in common.

The aspects of uncontrollability and unpredictability were included among non-animal expressions as well, as for example with the ball game-related *off the wall*, and expressions that featured flipping of some sort (*flip one's lid*). As was discussed in part 4.7.4, the idea of pressure building inside a person, leading to an explosion is the image behind expressions such as *flip one's lid*. This idea goes together with the ontological metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, as well as

EMOTION IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER discussed in 2.2.2. The theme of flipping can be connected to anger and excitement, which, as mentioned in section 3.1, are among the definitions for the word *mad*. Based on these expressions, what anger, excitement, and craziness seem to have in common is the idea of a person's behaviour changing in a sudden, rather explosive manner. Also, as was pointed out above, when it comes to figurative expressions for emotions, there is a recurring theme of the body as a CONTAINER for the emotions. From this it follows that strong, energy-filled emotions cannot always be held within this container, resulting in overflowing emotions and uncontrollable behaviour, perhaps violent anger or 'bouncing off the walls' type of excitement. When it comes to MADNESS, the 'flipping' type of behaviour is related to violent outbursts that are associated with insanity, as well as other kind of over the top behaviour. In connection with outbursts energy as well as anger, rage was discovered as one of the aspects of MADNESS, with *mad as a meat axe* and *mad as a cut snake* as examples thereof. These examples also involve an element of danger, a meat-axe, for instance, can do a lot of damage to an unsuspecting victim. Expressions with reference to drunkenness were included as a further underlying theme (*bonkers*, *dippy*).

As was with the causes of MADNESS, the expressions associated with symptoms of MADNESS are based on perceived similarities between two things, in this case MADNESS and how something behaves. Therefore, rather than being based on metaphors, the behaviour-related expressions are considered to be cases of metonymy, where part stands for the whole, and as the associated behaviour is part of MADNESS, the behaviour stands for MADNESS. In this case the metonymies would be ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR MADNESS, WILD BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR MADNESS, and UNPREDICTABLE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR MADNESS.

Table 5. Symptoms of MADNESS

Expression	Metaphor	Metonymy	Assumptions
Barking mad	ANIMAL, LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Upton park	ANIMAL, LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Mad as a maggot	ANIMAL		
Barmy as a bandicoot	ANIMAL		
Mad as a march hare	ANIMAL, LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Crazy as a loon	ANIMAL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Cuckoo	ANIMAL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Mad as a gumtree full of galahs	ANIMAL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Bananas	LACK OF CONTROL, NOT STRAIGHT	BEHAVIOUR	
Go bananas	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	
Go ape	ANIMAL, LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR
Bonkers	UNSTEADY	BEHAVIOUR	
Dippy	UNSTEADY	BEHAVIOUR	
Dotty	UNSTEADY	BEHAVIOUR	
Screwball	UNPREDICTABLE, NOT NORMAL	BEHAVIOUR	STRAIGHT
Off the wall	UNPREDICTABLE	BEHAVIOUR	

Table 5. Symptoms of MADNESS, cont.

Expression	Metaphor	Metonymy	Assumptions
Flip one's lid	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	CONTAINER, FLUID IN A CONTAINER
Flip one's wig	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	CONTAINER, FLUID IN A CONTAINER
Flip one's beanie	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	CONTAINER, FLUID IN A CONTAINER
Flip one's bananas	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	CONTAINER, FLUID IN A CONTAINER
Flip out	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	
Flippy	LACK OF CONTROL	BEHAVIOUR	
Beserko	ANGER	BEHAVIOUR	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY
Mad as a meataxe	ANGER	BEHAVIOUR	ANGER IS A DANGEROUS OBJECT
Mad as a cut snake	ANGER, ANIMAL	BEHAVIOUR	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY
Batshit crazy	ANGER	BEHAVIOUR	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY

Impression

The fourth aspect of MADNESS, impressions, or how other people perceive a mad person, is perhaps also slightly related to behaviour, or the symptoms of MADNESS, but will nevertheless be treated as a section of its own.

The theme of ABSENCE could be found among the expressions, with being *out to lunch* or *away with the fairies* serving as examples. Further themes include trying to achieve something unattainable, or being unwilling to face reality (*over the rainbow*, *gone fishing*). This connection between ABSENCE and MADNESS could be linked to the conventional or cultural knowledge of the mad or absent-minded professor, who is completely engrossed in their own work, that generally involves ideas that others might not be accustomed to, making them seem slightly insane. Since it is the mind that is absent, not the whole person, the ontological metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY is included, making it possible for us to discuss the mind as being present or absent. Furthermore, it must yet again be assumed that THE BODY IS A BUILDING and THE HEAD IS A SPACE, after all, in order for an entity to be absent, there needs to be a place where it could be present.

In addition to absence, disturbances in the stasis were also represented, including expressions like *off one's base*, *off the hooks*, and *off one's trolley*. The general idea was of being somehow *off*, meaning that there is something wrong. The train of thought has been derailed, or maybe someone has fallen off it, the door is no longer on the hooks. These expressions are based on the assumption that, any given moment, every entity has its rightful position, and when they are not where they are supposed to be, the balance²¹ of all things has been disrupted. Therefore, MADNESS IS IMBALANCE.

A final major theme related to how other people might perceive a mad person is that of diagnosed insanity. Old medical terms, *lunatic*, for instance, could be found among the expressions. Here the connection is in the analogy between a certifiably insane person and someone who merely appears to be insane. Further links with insane people appeared in comparisons to occupations or

²¹ See e.g. Johnson (1987, 74) for more on the basis of BALANCE as an image schema.

activities that are or once were associated with insane people, including basket weaving in *basket-case*, or hat making in *mad as a hatter*. These type of expressions are not really based on conceptual metaphors, instead, they are analogies based on conventional knowledge. However, a few behaviour-related expressions, those that link stereotypically insane behaviour with madness, could be found, with *up the wall* and *butterfly case* as examples of such cases. These behaviour-related expressions are based on the conceptual metonymy INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY.

Additional factors regarding impressions were comparisons to absurd things, such as being *queer as a clockwork orange*, or *silly as a two-bob watch*, as well as associations with for example colours, being 'all over the place', or possibly being a 'strange fruit' (*fruity*, *fruitcake*, *mad as a gumtree full of galahs*). In all of these examples the idea of abnormality, or of not following social norms is reflected. Moreover, as was suggested in part 4.10, the word *queer* may have its origins in the German *quer*, meaning 'transverse', which, with reference to the image schema STRAIGHT, brings across the idea of going against the norm.

Table 6. Impressions

Expression	Metaphor	Metonymy	Conventional knowledge	Assumptions
Out to lunch	ABSENCE	BEHAVIOUR	About lunchbrakes	HEAD IS A SPACE, BODY IS A BUILDING, MIND IS AN ENTITY
Away with the fairies	ABSENCE	BEHAVIOUR	About fairies	MIND IS AN ENTITY
Over the rainbow	ABSENCE	BEHAVIOUR	About rainbows	MIND IS AN ENTITY
Gone fishing	ABSENCE	BEHAVIOUR	About going fishing	MIND IS AN ENTITY
Off one's base	IMBALANCE		Regarding balance ²²	BALANCE
Off one's rocker	IMBALANCE		Regarding balance	BALANCE
Off one's trolley	IMBALANCE		Regarding balance	BALANCE
Off the rails	IMBALANCE		Regarding balance	BALANCE
Off the hooks	IMBALANCE		Regarding balance	BALANCE
Queer in the attic	NOT STRAIGHT			STRAIGHT, BODY IS A BUILDING
Queer in the garret	NOT STRAIGHT			STRAIGHT, BODY IS A BUILDING
Queer as Dick's hatband	ABSURD		About what is normal	
Queer as a clockwork orange	ABSURD		About what exists	
Silly as a two-bob watch	ABSURD		About what exists	
Queer as a three-dollar bill	ABSURD		About what exists	

²² Conventional knowledge about the usual, desirable state of things.

Table 6. Impressions, cont.

Expression	Metonymy	Conventional knowledge	Based on
Lunatic	BEHAVIOUR	The moon causes insanity	
Have a moon-flaw in the brain	BEHAVIOUR	The moon causes insanity	
Go troppo	BEHAVIOUR	Hot weather affects behaviour	
Basket case	BEHAVIOUR	Insane people weave baskets	
Mad as a weaver	BEHAVIOUR	Insane people weave	
Mad as a hatter	BEHAVIOUR	Hatters are insane	
Up the wall	BEHAVIOUR	About mad people	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY
Up the pole	BEHAVIOUR	About mad people	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY
Butterfly case	BEHAVIOUR	Insane people chase butterflies	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY
Stands on his head	BEHAVIOUR	Things are usually right way up	INSANE BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR INSANITY

5.2 SANITY

Based on the semantic characteristics of MADNESS discussed above, it is possible to construct a semantic definition of SANITY and perhaps also normality. Owing to the fact that MADNESS appears to be located in one's head, it is safe to assume that this is also where SANITY can be found, after all the general idea seems to be that the head is representative of the person or the self. It was established that the head-space of a mad person is in a state of chaos and irrationality, therefore, harmony and rationality would be characteristic of sane persons. In addition to chaos, a mad person's head, or possibly the whole being, was considered to be broken, faulty or missing something. Based on this, a sane person would be perceived as someone who is whole and unbroken, functions like a well-oiled machine without glitches or bugs: the sane person is complete and satiated, not missing anything. Furthermore, if madness is seen as 'bent' or 'twisted', sanity must then be straight, and the thought processes of said persons ought to be clear and unobstructed.

When it comes to behaviour, the overall theme with madness appeared to be lack of control, and if this indeed is the case, it could be said that sanity includes an aspect of control, and in addition to that, the aspect of humanity as opposed to animality. However, if HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, a sane person could be compared to a rather predictable, calm animal.

Further characteristics that were identified as mad were absence, imbalance and absurdity, therefore sanity ought to entail presence, as well as balance, stability, logic, reality, and, perhaps most of all, normality. Finally, it could be assumed that whereas mad people are fit to weave baskets, sane people follow proper conduct and avoid running naked in the fields chasing butterflies. In short, sane people are plain, loonies are colourful.

In chapter 1 a definition of *a normal* was provided. According to this definition, *a normal* is:

A person who conforms and blends in with society; One who expresses no elements of individuality; flat and boring; extremely straight and perpendicular person; cannot cope easily with chaos; could also be described as the living dead; does not express over the top displays of emotions in case they might be seen to be mad. Pl. the normals (Balderdash & Piffle, 2007).

Judging by this definition and the possible characteristics of sanity discussed above, this definition of what a normal person might be does appear to match sanity quite closely. In his book on insanity, Hollander claims that madness is not the polar opposite of normal, but an exaggeration thereof. He states that there are “no hard and fast lines separating sanity and insanity”, disease is merely an exaggeration or inharmony of the normal (Hollander 1912, 33). This closely resembles Aristotle's concept of the happy medium, placing the normal and desirable between two equally undesirable opposites. However, Hollander does point out that the occasional exaggeration of natural disposition does not a certifiable nutcase make, but an alteration in character ought to raise concern (1912, 38). If the happy medium places desirable or good characteristics somewhere between two extremes, it could be said that both sanity and insanity are extremes, and everything in between, from borderline insane to borderline sane counts as good and normal. Or if that is not enough to convince one that slight madness may not be such a bad thing, Hollander points out that “nearly all the world is cracked, but some succeed in concealing the crack better than others” (Hollander 1912, 35). Furthermore, Hollander claims that it is the genius mind that is complex and liable to insanity, “a fine and complex machine is more apt to go out of order than a crude and simple one” (1912, 87).

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to study representations of madness in the English language. It turned out that, at least when it comes to expressions for madness, linguistic expressions are by no means random, rather, they are based on larger, more profound patterns that emanate from our conceptual system. Based on the analysis of one hundred idiomatic expressions, it can be gathered that the expressions are largely based on a few conceptual metaphors, and in addition to that, conceptual metonymy, as well as conventional knowledge. It appears that the metaphors are mostly based on perceived similarities between madness and other concepts. Judging by the earliest

recorded instances of the expressions analyzed, some basic conceptual metaphors have served as the basis of metaphorical expressions for centuries, proving that they are by no means new inventions.

Judging by the analysis conducted, madness is perceived as something that lies in the head. It could be chaos, a flaw, a crack, a missing piece, or even a knot, but whatever it is, it deviates from the ideal state of affairs. When it comes to behaviour, madness is perceived as lack of control, perhaps even lack of humanity. It involves absence and absurdity, as well as plain old oddness. Insanity is over-doing, it is being a multi-coloured all over the place mess, and all of this is reflected in both appearance and behaviour. The analysis also revealed that madness can manifest itself in many ways, there can be violent or aggressive madness (*mad as a cut snake*), unpredictable and perhaps explosive madness (*flip one's lid, off the wall*), madness that is uncontrollable in a non-violent way (*bananas*), drunken madness (*bonkers, dippy*), madness of the absent-minded kind (*away with the fairies*), or the kind that covers strange thought processes and far-fetched ideas (*over the rainbow, queer as...*), or “out there” behaviour (*butterfly case, stands on his head*), and finally there is the kind of expressions that cover your everyday oddness and deviation from social norms (*loopy, cracked, have a screw loose, few fruitloops shy of a bowl*). I would say that most of these examples are considered jocular, not said in all seriousness, however, out of context it is hard to say whether this is always the case. These type of stylistic differences between the expressions could be a topic for further research that could be studied with the help of corpora or other non-dictionary material.

When it comes to the hypothesized similarities between metaphors for emotions and madness, it turned out that behaviour-related expressions with references to animals and loss of control were represented in both, but physiological effects (redness, elevated heart rate) were not found among expressions for madness. Not surprisingly, the similarities were clearly visible where the expressions for anger and madness overlap. As further connections to previous research, the more general image schemas STRAIGHT and BALANCE, along with the ontological metaphor THE

MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT were reflected in the expressions studied. Owing to the fact that the number of expressions studied was relatively small, I am quite sure I have not yet discovered all the possible metaphors for MADNESS, however, judging by previous studies on related concepts, the results so far appear fairly accurate.

As it turned out, idiomatic expressions do provide information on mental images and perceptions. If it were possible to study sanity and normality in a similar manner, comparisons could be made between the results for MADNESS and SANITY as well as normality, providing a means to see where the differences lie. Moreover, it would be possible to determine whether the aspects of SANITY discussed above are visible in expressions for sanity. This, however, could prove problematic since idiomatic expressions for sanity and normality may be hard to find. This may be the case owing to the fact one does not have to be discreet when referring to someone as 'sane' or 'normal', removing the need for euphemistic expressions. Furthermore, unlike madness, sanity or normality are not connected to any particular over-the-top or otherwise strange behaviour.

Further research could be conducted on the concept of madness by using *Metaphorical Pattern Analysis* (MPA) described by Stefanowitsch (2006). According to Stefanowitsch, the usual introspective method employed in research on metaphors does have its problems. It, for example, cannot be decided when all the relevant metaphors have been found, furthermore, the results cannot be quantified to determine the importance of a particular metaphor (2006, 64). These were also the main problems with the method employed in the present thesis. Owing to the relatively small number of expressions analyzed, I may not have discovered all the relevant metaphors for madness, furthermore, some patterns are better represented than others. It may of course be the case that there are considerably more expressions with references to brokenness than to, say, being 'not straight', but the present method is not suited to study whether this is true or not. Stefanowitsch (2006) introduces a corpus method, MPA, where, by using lexical items referring to the target domain, it ought to be possible to avoid some of the problems associated with the introspective method. MPA

itself is not without problems, since conceptual metaphors are not tied to specific lexical items (Stefanowitsch 2006, 65), but in my opinion Stefanowitsch' method would be worth a try.

Additionally, it would be interesting to study expressions for excitement and anger and see where the expressions for madness analyzed in this thesis overlap and where they differ.

According to Lakoff (2008, 26), “people have the same bodies and basically the same relevant environments. Therefore we will have much the same experiences in childhood in which two domains are simultaneously active, and so will learn neural metaphorical mappings linking those domains naturally, just by functioning in the world”. What this suggests is that idiomatic expressions in different languages may not differ radically. Therefore, a comparison between patterns found in idiomatic expressions in different languages would certainly provide interesting information on how similarly we see things despite the language we speak. Finally, as became clear, idiomatic expressions from different centuries are based on the same conceptual metaphors, which makes sense considering that they are grounded in our conceptual system, however, a diachronic account of idiomatic expressions for madness, could perhaps show patterns in the use of conceptual metaphors.

The results of this study could be of use for example in foreign language teaching where, instead of teaching idioms as separate units, the metaphors behind the idioms could be taught as well. This could potentially make the learning process simpler, and it would also make people better understand how they can be creators of new, functioning expressions even when using a foreign language. Moreover, since idiomatic language is difficult to translate, knowledge of what it is based on could benefit translators as well. This piece of research has provided information on how the mental representations of madness are reflected in language, hence also furthering our understanding on how people perceive mental disorders. Since it appears that this study is the first of its kind on the topic of madness, the results offer a basis for further research, as well as a new perspective on what else could potentially be studied in the field of cognitive semantics.

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Expression	Pattern	Head	Definition ²³	Recorded ²⁴	Source
Chaos					
A kangaroo loose in the top paddock	Chaos	H ²⁵	A mad, crazy person	1908	TTEM
Rats in the upper story	Chaos	H	Insane, mad	1889	CDS
Have a rat	Chaos	h	To act crazily in an eccentric manner	1889	CDS
Have maggots in one's head	Chaos	H	To be eccentric, to be irritable	1625	CDS
Have bats in one's belfry	Chaos	H	To be eccentric, to act crazily	1901	CDS
Toys in the attic	Chaos	H	To be eccentric, to be insane, to be simple, childlike		GDS
Barm					
Barmy/ Balmy	Chaos, lack	h	Insane, eccentric	1892	CDS
Barmpot	Chaos, lack	H	An eccentric	1951	CDS
Irrational					
Off one's head	Irrationality, absence	H	Insane, out of one's mind	1842	CDS
Off one's onion	Irrationality, absence	H	Crazy	1881	CDS
Off one's nut	Irrationality, absence	H	Mad	1858	CDS
Cracked					
Cracked	Brokenness	h	Insane, crazy, eccentric	1610	CDS
Crackbrained	Brokenness	H	Eccentric, crazy	1634	BDPF
Cracked in the filbert	Brokenness	H	Eccentric, slightly crazy	1886	CDS

²³ Relevant part of the definition.

²⁴ If available, as stated in OED or CDS.

²⁵ H: likely connection to the head, h: possible connection to the head.

Crackpot	Brokenness	H	An eccentric, a madman	1883	CDS
Cracked as a broken pot	Brokenness	h	Of crazy people		TTEM
Crackers	Brokenness	h	Mad, Crazy	1925	CDS
Faulty					
Have a screw loose	Faulty	H	To be eccentric, insane or retarded	1833	CDS
Have a button loose	Faulty	H	Be crazy, slightly mad	1925	TTEM
Have a tile loose	Faulty	H	To be eccentric or foolish	1846	CDS
Have a slate loose	Faulty	H	To be eccentric or foolish	1854	OED
Loose in the bean	Faulty	H	Eccentric, crazy	1920	CDS
Loose up top	Faulty	H	Mad, eccentric		CDS
Nuts and Fruit					
Nut	Brokenness	H	An insane person	1908	CDS
Nutty	Brokenness	H	Crazy, eccentric	1892	CDS
Nuts	Brokenness	H	Insane, mad, crazy	1908	CDS
Nutcase	Brokenness	h	An eccentric, an odd person, a lunatic	1959	CDS
Nuts-and-bolts	Brokenness	h	Crazy, insane	1920	CDS
Nutty as a fruitcake	Brokenness		Crazy, eccentric	1914	CDS
Nutty as a walnut tree	Brokenness		Crazy, insane	1926	HDAS
Nutty as a pecan grove	Brokenness		Crazy, insane	1950	HDAS
Fruitcake	Chaos, brokenness		An eccentric, a peculiar person	1950	CDS
Fruity			Crazy	1920	CDS
Fruit loop	Not straight		A crazy or stupid person	1980	CDS

Tangled					
Loopy	Not straight	h	Eccentric, crazy	1925	CDS
Round the bend	Not straight	h	Eccentric, crazy, insane	1920	CDS
Harpic	Not straight	h	Crazy, insane	1930	CDS
Round the twist	Not straight	h	Mad, eccentric, insane	1960	CDS
Crank	Not straight	h	An eccentric	1833	CDS
Missing					
Lose one's marbles	Lack	H	To go mad, to lose control	1902	CDS
Apartments to let	Lack	H	Unhinged, insane, crazy		CDS
Incomplete					
A shingle short	Incompleteness	H	Eccentric, crazy		CDS
A few bricks short of a load	Incompleteness		Unintelligent, eccentric	1983	CDS
A few sandwiches short of a picnic	Incompleteness		Not very intelligent, slightly eccentric, odd	1985	CDS
A few fruitloops shy of a bowl	Incompleteness				google ²⁶
A few pecans short of a fruitcake	Incompleteness				google
Not the full quid	Incompleteness		Not very intelligent, slightly eccentric, odd	1944	CDS
Animals					
Barking mad	Animal, loss of control		Absolutely crazy, highly eccentric	1927	CDS
Upton park	Animal, loss of control		(slightly) crazy		DCS
Mad as a maggot	Animal		Very crazy		CDS
Barmy as a bandicoot	Animal		Highly eccentric, deranged	1950	CDS
Mad as a march hare	Animal, loss of control		Very crazy	1529	CDS

26 As a result of a google search for "a few * short of *".

Crazy as a loon	Animal		Crazy	1845	TTEM
Cuckoo	Animal		Crazy, eccentric, insane	1918	CDS
Kooky	Animal		Odd, eccentric		CDS
Mad as a gumtree full of galahs	Animal		Mad	1910	CDS
Bananas					
Bananas	Loss of control, not straight		Crazy, eccentric	1957	CDS
Go bananas	Loss of control		To lose emotional control	1968	CDS
Go ape	Animal, loss of control		To lose control	1955	CDS
Unsteady					
Bonkers	Unsteady	h	Stupid, insane, eccentric	1945	CDS
Dippy	Unsteady	h	Crazy, eccentric, mildly insane	1903	CDS
Dotty	Unsteady		Eccentric, odd	14XX	CDS
Unpredictable					
Screwball	Unpredictable, not normal		Crazy, eccentric	1957	CDS
Off the wall	Unpredictable		Unusual, outrageous, eccentric	1950	TTEM
Flip					
Flip one's lid	Loss of control	H	To go crazy, to lose emotional control	1951	CDS
Flip one's wig	Loss of control	H	To lose one's sanity	1952	CDS
Flip one's beanie	Loss of control	H	To go crazy, to lose emotional control	1960	CDS
Flip one's bananas	Loss of control	H	Go insane	1970	CDS
Flip out	Loss of control		To lose emotional control, to go mad	1964	CDS
Flippy	Loss of control		Crazy, eccentric	1957	CDS

Rage					
Beserko	Anger		An unstable, eccentric person	1980	CDS
Mad as a meataxe	Anger		1. Very angry. 2. Completely insane	1855	CDS
Mad as a cut snake	Anger, animal		Completely deranged, utterly furious	1917	CDS
Batshit (crazy)	Anger		Insane, crazy		CDS
Absence					
Out to lunch	Absence		Crazy, eccentric, weird	1955	CDS
Away with the fairies	Absence		Impression of being mad, distracted	1909	ODEI
Over the rainbow	Absence				The Trial
Gone fishing	Absence				The Trial
Imbalance					
Off one's base	Imbalance		Insane, crazy, confused	1882	CDS
Off one's rocker	Imbalance		Crazy	1890	CDS
Off one's trolley	Imbalance		Crazy, eccentric	1896	CDS
Off the rails	Imbalance		To behave abnormally, to go crazy	1828	BDPF
Off the hooks	Imbalance		Crazy, eccentric	1658	CDS
Absurd					
Queer in the attic	Not straight	H	Mad and drunk	1889	CDS
Queer in the garret	Not straight	H	Eccentric, mad	1889	CDS
Queer as Dick's hatband	Absurd		Odd, eccentric	1788	CDS
Queer as a clockwork orange	Absurd		1.Extremely odd. 2. Ostentatiously homosexual	1950	CDS
Silly as a two-bob watch	Absurd		Completely mad	1954	TTEM
Queer as a three-dollar bill	Absurd		1.Extremely odd. 2. Ostentatiously homosexual		CDS

Medical					
Lunatic	Clinically insane		A fool, an eccentric	1290	CDS
Have a moon-flaw in the brain	Clinically insane	H		1652	OED
Go troppo	Clinically insane		Go mad	1943	CDS
Occupations and activities					
Basket case	Clinically insane		One who behaves in a notably eccentric manner	1970	CDS
Mad as a weaver	Clinically insane		Very crazy	1609	CDS
Mad as a hatter	Clinically insane		Very mad, utterly insane	1829	CDS
Behaviour					
Up the wall	Clinically insane		Crazy, eccentric or over-excited	1920	CDS
Up the pole	Clinically insane		Crazy		ODMS
Butterfly case	Clinically insane		Mad person		TTEM
Stands on his head	Clinically insane		Is eccentric		TTEM